STUDIES IN THE ORACLES AGAINST THE NATIONS

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Brandeis University

Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

By

BARRY BARUCH MARGULIS

December, 1966

This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's Committee, has been accepted and approved by the ~~Graduate~~ Faculty of Brandeis University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Harold Wesley

Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

June 20, 1967

Date

Dissertation Committee

Chairman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors S. Talmon and N. Sarna: the one for having outfitted and launched the project, the other for assuming navigatorial responsibilities in mid-course and for piloting with skill and sympathetic understanding.

To Brandeis University and the National Foundation for Jewish Culture I wish to express my sincerest thanks for financial assistance.

Finally, to my wife, to whom I owe an unrepayable debt of devotion and encouragement, I dedicate this offering with love and humility.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	i
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I - "YOM YAHWE" IN THE O. A. N.	43
CHAPTER II - THE WAR-MOTIFS	80
CHAPTER III - THE TERM MASSA'	200
CHAPTER IV - BEGRÜNDUNG IN THE O. A. N.	231
CHAPTER V - THE ORACLES AGAINST FOREIGN RULERS (O. A. F. R.)	276
CONCLUSION	367
BIBLIOGRAPHY	396
INDEX OF O. T. PASSAGES DISCUSSED	416

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (1965)
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages
ANET	Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the O. T. (2nd ed. 1955)
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
A. Z.	(Talmudic tractate) Avodah Zara
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
Bab. Tal.	Babylonian Talmud
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Ber. R.	Bereshit Rabbah
BH^3	Biblica Hebraica (ed. Kittel-Kahle, 1951)
BIES	Bulletin (Yediot) of the Israel Exploration Society
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft von Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

CH	Codex Hammurabi
EG	Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and O. T. Parallels (Phoenix, ed. 1963)
GA	Gerichtsankündigung
G-K	Kautzsch, Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (2nd Eng. ed., by A. E. Cowley, 1910)
HAT	Handbuch zum AT
H-G	Heilsgeschichte
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IB	Interpreter's Bible
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
K-AI	Donner-Röllig, Kanaanaische-Aramaische Inschriften (1964)
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
M-R	Myth-Ritual
NSI	G. A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions
O. A. F. R.	Oracle(s) Against Foreign Ruler(s)
O. A. N.	Oracle(s) Against the Nation(s)
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
P-S	Proto-Semitic
PsSt	S. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien (1921-1924)
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart

RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
ThLZ	Theologische Literatur Zeitschrift
ThS	Theological Studies
UL	C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (1949)
UM	C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual (1955)
Y. Y.	Yom Yahwe
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

INTRODUCTION

I. The Oracles Against the Nations in Biblical Research

Were an apologia required for an investigation of the prophetic oracles against the nations, it would surely be provided by a recent statement of C. Westermann: in discussing the question of "Motivation" (Begründung) and the O. A. N. tradition, this scholar remarked:[1]

> Doch das kann nur in einer Gesamtuntersuchung der Völkerspruche geklart werden.

For the O. A. N. tradition belongs to that rare species of biblical literature which has failed to receive scholarly treatment from the very beginning of critical Biblical scholarship. The number of studies directly concerned with O. A. N. materials are a paltry few, while a comprehensive treatment of the tradition as a whole is conspicuously absent. Nor is this the product of mere chance: a distinctly negative bias on the part of scholars vis-à-vis the O. A. N. is discernible, a bias of which the following statement is typical:[2]

> Although... inaugurated by Amos, they (i. e. the O. A. N.) reflect... not the moral indignation of the great pre-exilic prophets, but rather the nationalism of the 'false' prophets... the masses did not rise to the idealistic universalism of a Second Isaiah.

A. The O. A. N. Materials

The bulk of the O. A. N. material is concentrated in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.[3] Fragments of greater or smaller size, however, are to be found in all but one (Hosea) of the Twelve.

Isaiah:	Chs. 13-19; 20-22:14; 23; 25:10-12; 30:6-7; 34; 37:22-29 (=2K. 19:21-28)
Jeremiah:	25:15-38; chs. 46-51:58
Ezekiel:	Chs. 25-32; 35; 38-39
Amos:	1:2[4] - 2:8[5]; 9:7-12
Joel:	4:4-8, 18-20
Obadiah:	5:4-5; 9-14
Nahum:	Ch. 1
Zephaniah:	1:10-18; 2:4-15; 3:6
Zechariah:	Ch. 9:1-7; 14:12-15
Malachi:	1:2-5

The material can be classified typologically as follows:

1. A. Formal collections of material: Isaiah 13-19; Jer. 25:15f; 46-52;[6] Ez. 25-32; Am. 1

   B. Fragmentary materials embedded in non-O. A. N. prophetic collections: Amos 9:7-12; Micah 5:4-5; 9-14; Habakkuk 2: 6-17, Zeph. 3:6, Zech. 11:1-3.

2. A. "Pure" O.A.N. material: Isa. 15-16; Jer. 46-52; Ez. 25, 35

B. "Hybrid" material:

(1) Y.Y.-O.A.N.: Joel, Obadiah, Zeph. 1:10-18, Zech. 14: 12-15; Isa. 34; Amos 9:7-12

(2) Apocalyptic - O.A.N.: Ez. 38-39;[7] Isa. 22(?), 24

C. O.A.F.R. material: Isa. 14; Ez. 28; 29:3-5, 9-11; 32: 1-10

The definitio operandi with regard to this material is:

(a) An oracle addressed directly to a foreign nation and/or "internal" references to such a nation.

(b) In Isaiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zech., Mal.: the introductory term " משא "

Thus, our study is not concerned with all O.T. pronouncements regarding foreign nations; nor is it concerned with the theological questions arising from Israel's relations with and attitude to foreign nations and rulers. Finally, discussion of international political and historical events is limited to those which bear directly on the problems arising in the course of the investigation.

B. O.A.N. Research

One of the earliest studies of O.A.N. material is F. Schwally's: "Die Reden des Buches Jeremia gegen die Heiden."[8] The author is mainly concerned with determining the "authenticity" or "inauthenticity" of this material, by which is meant the question of Jeremianic authorship. In the process of concluding that all of the O.A.N. material in Jeremiah is postexilic, hence "inauthentic",[9] the author makes a number of valuable observations, amongst them the large number of literarily interdependent texts that feature the material, including Jer. 48-49 and Isa. 15-16; Jer. 49 and Ob. This recognition presupposes that we are in fact dealing with a single literary tradition characteristic of more than one prophetic book. Moreover, he quotes with approval a statement by the 19th cent. critic Kuennen with regard to the relationship between Jer. 49 and Ob.:[10]

> Sie lehrt besonders dass ebenso wenig Jeremia von Obadia als dieser von jenem als Muster benützt worden ist. Sondern dass beide demselben Originale gefolgt sind, das von Obadia mit sehr geringen Abweichungen herübergenommen, durch Jeremia mit grosser Freiheit benützt worden ist.

But the author still feels compelled to deny Jeremianic authorship to the chapter. The case is similar with Isa. 15-16: the author notes[11] that these chapters have been considered by some to be pre-Isaianic; he, however, cannot accept this conclusion; the chapters are for him post-exilic.

Schwally was followed in his view by Duhm, Cornill and Giesebrecht. Even as late as 1925---after the pioneering studies of Gressman and Gunkel---M. Haller, in a discussion of the tradition of Israelite - Edomite hatred,[12] concluded that the anti-Edom oracles in Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah were a product of the post-exilic period. The phenomenon of literary interdependency he interprets as "schrift-gelehrte Erganzung", but he does quote with some measure of approval Gunkel's hypothesis[13] that the O.A.N. tradition served classical prophecy as a model. He thus accepts in principle the antiquity of the O.A.N. tradition, without affirming that the classical themselves might have authored them.

The reaction to the Schwally-inspired rejection of the O.A.N. material in Jeremiah is provided by F. Bardtke in a lengthy study entitled "Jeremia der Fremdvölkerprophet".[14] Basing himself on the call-pericope (1:2-10) where Jeremiah is designated a "prophet unto the nations", the author concludes:[15]

> Die in Rahmen des Kanonischen Jeremiabuches überlieferten Heidenorakel... sind Erzeugnisse seiner fremdvölkerprophetischen Anfangzeit, sind also als seine Jugendgedichte zu bezeichnen.

One can agree with Bardtke that the evidence of 1:2-10 is important in deciding the question of "authenticity" in Jer.'s O.A.N.: indeed the expression "a prophet unto the nations" may have still more

radical implications.[16] However, the ascription of the O. A. N. material to Jeremiah's "youth" can be seen - at least in part - as deferring to the prevailing opinion that the O. A. N. material is unworthy of the classical prophet.

The revolution in treatment of the O. A. N. is to be credited to H. Gunkel and especially to his disciple H. Gressman. Though mainly concerned with Israelite eschatology, the latter's Ursprung der Israelitiche-jüdischen Eschatologie (1905) and Der Messias (1929) -- the latter published posthumously -- contain ideas bearing on the nature of the O. A. N. material which are of value to the present-day investigator of the subject.

In his Ursprung Gressman concluded that the O. A. N. was a pre-classical prophetic Gattung forming part of pre-8th century Israelite eschatology (as expressed in the concept "Day of Yahwe"). This tradition was considered to be authored and preserved by Heilspropheten whose occupational Sitz-im-Leben was the royal court.[17] He observed as well that a basic difference between O. A. N. and classical prophetic writings could be seen in the absence of "ethical motivation" in the former.

In Der Messias, the author apparently intended a full scale investigation of the O. A. N. material, but death prevented this plan being carried out. Still, an intimation of the author's mode of procedure can be

discerned. The distinction of Heil and unHeilprophets was still to be maintained,[18] with the Heilspropheten conceived of as "royal prophets", the unHeil as "independents". From a literary standpoint, he distinguished "Heiden" and "Völker" oracles: the former involve a sharp individuation of the nation and a message of unHeil with an implicit message of Heil for Israel. The latter correspond to the "goyyim" who are unindividuated and where the Heil for Israel is explicit. Finally, he concluded that one had to reckon with the fact that all the prophetic books --- with the exception of Hosea --- contained O. A. N. material, a fact which spoke against the systematic dismissal of classical prophets as possible authors of O. A. N. material. The author delivers in this regard a number of hard blows to the prevailing approach of his day:[19]

> Warum soll der Prophet nicht das Mal drohen, das andere Mal verheissen?

With regard to the O. A. N. material in particular:

> Ist auch nur ein einzieges Völker oder Heidenorakel echt, so ist damit beweisen dass die Unheilspropheten auch die Hoffnung auf Heil für Israel hegten.[20]

Not all of Gressman's conclusions --and especially his presuppositions regarding the nature and evolution of prophecy-- are acceptable.[21] In particular one must take exception to the categories of Heil and unHeil both as designations of prophetic "types" as well as literary categories.[22]

As sociological categories they must be found wanting, while as literary terms they represent a "teleological" rather than "descriptive" approach. But of lasting value is his observation of the connection between Y. Y. and O. A. N. materials as well as his conclusion that the O. A. N. tradition is basically a phenomenon of the pre-classical prophetic period.

The most explicit and forthright statement of the Gressman approach was provided by the latter's mentor, Herman Gunkel. In an encyclopedia article of 1930 he stated:[23]

> Die ältesten Propheten sind Verkündiger der Zukunft gewesen.... Demnach durfen wir den ältesten prophetischen Stil in denjenigen Stuchen vermuten, in denen die Zukunft geschildert wird. Bezeichenderweise sind besonders deutliche Muster diese Stils die Orakel über die fremden Völker Jes. 13-21, Jer. 46-51, Ezech. 25-32 u. a.

The thesis herein propounded never succeeded in gaining many adherents, if only because of the absence of a critical investigation of the O. A. N. material cited: the deduction from future-prediction to the O. A. N. could not but strike the impartial reader as unsatisfactory. This dissatisfaction has recently been stated as follows:[24]

> ...sehr vage, sehr fraglich Begründung einer so weitreichenden these. Man könnte weiter dazu sagen,

> dass die summarische angabe von Jes. 13-21 methodisch sehr anfachtbar ist, da hier... gewiss nicht einen klar erkenntbaren Typus des Prophetenspruches zeigen.

The latter part of Westermann's critique however, cannot be allowed to go uncontested: it is doubtful that to establish a case for the Gunkel hypothesis one need prove that all the O. A. N. material is of one "Typus". Westermann's own partiality to the model of the prophet as "messenger" is not itself evidence that a "klar erkenntbaren" prophetic "Typus" or Gattung can be discerned.[25] The author is indeed well aware that the prophets borrowed heavily varied and various modes of speech and composition.[26] Accordingly, it would appear to be more accurate to speak of prophetic literature as a "literary tradition" rather than as a "Typus" or Gattung; the same holds true for the O. A. N. tradition: what needs to be established is the question whether or not the O. A. N. represents a distinct literary tradition, with characteristic motifs, expressions, and forms.

Scholarly interest in the O. A. N. virtually ceases with Gunkel's aforementioned essay. True, as early as 1925, E. Kraeling had published a study of Zech. 9:1-10;[27] but here the interest was not in literary problems but rather historical source-material. Such also is the more recent study of the same material by A. Malamat.[28] The latter remarks:[29]

> Most biblical prophecies which are concerned with the 'Nations'... contain much material of historical value which has yet to be studied and clarified.

It is clear, however, that the value of this material for historical research - in the strict sense - is severely limited as long as the literary character and history of the material has not been established.

Still, if the O. A. N. has not stood at the forefront of scholarly concern, one notices of late a renewed interest. This interest stems largely from the contemporary approach to the O. T. as a whole, viz., as part of a much wider interest in the ancient Near East and comparative cultural analysis.

As early as 1944, A. Haldar[30] had remarked in passing that oracles of the O. A. N. type were known from Sumer. This statement was supposedly based on an article of the same year by Falkenstein,[31] but an examination of the Sumerian literary composition discussed by Falkenstein hardly supports the conclusion drawn by Haldar.[32]

Of greater consequence was A. Bentzen's "The Ritual Background of Amos 1:2-2:16".[33] Bentzen suggested that the model for Amos' O. A. N. was perhaps to be found in the Egyptian execration texts of the early second millenium B. C. E. These 'texts' represented clay-bowls inscribed with the name of some enemy--- usually Asiatic --- which were then

deliberately smashed -- so it would appear -- accompanied, one may assume, by some kind of ritual incantation, (the incantation itself not having been preserved).

What impressed Bentzen, however, was:

(a) The mention of the rulers of the different nations "execrated" in a highly stereotyped fashion.

(b) The sequence in which these nations appear: Southern, Northern, Western.

(c) The concluding mention of "evil Egyptians", i. e. internal enemies.

The next step was to locate the cultic Sitz-in Leben of such a rite in Israel. Here Bentzen opts for the Ascension-day ritual (the M&R New Year) and concludes that

> purgatory rites accompanied the judgement section of the ritual of the Ascension festival at the New Year, and that such rites can be understood as lying behind the different texts as the formal pattern of the oracles against foreign nations in the prophetic book. Most of them are only detached fragments, not preserved in the original cultic setting.[34]

The hypothesis is indeed an attractive one and comes as a welcome reaction to the turn-of-the-century (non-Gressman) approaches to the material.[35] The underlying assumption is that the O. A. N. material is pre-prophetic. Even allowing that it is the expression of prophetically uncharacteristic hyper-patriotic feeling (à la Pfeiffer), it is not on that account to be dismissed out of hand.

Still, notwithstanding the favourable reception accorded this hypothesis in scholarly circles (esp. M&R), one feels obliged to echo the criticism levelled by Westermann at Gunkel that the hypothesis rests on "vague and questionable grounds." Not only is the O. A. N. material considered by Bentzen restricted to one collection only -- and at that not the most substantial collection -- but the parallels cited as obtaining are not overly-convincing. Bentzen himself feels constrained to make the following qualifications:

> ...I do not assume migrations from Egypt to Palestine of material of this kind...

and that no necessary ritual connection exists between "breaking of the red bowls" and the suggested ritual background in Israel. Finally, the author notes that the use by the prophets of such ritual forms may have given these forms an entirely new meaning.[36]

Still, in the course of our investigation we have come to the conclusion that Bentzen's proposed Sitz-im-Leben may after all be correct; but this because:

(a) Additional evidence from the O. A. N. material seems to support a cultic connection between the Yom Yahwe material and the O. A. N. --- a connection already observed by Gressman.

(b) The existence of additional Egyptian Execration material --- not cited by Bentzen -- whose connection with at least one O. A. N. (actually, O. A. F. R.) composition is more plausibly assumed than that between Amos 1 and the "red bowls".

Of more recent vintage still, but part of the same "in-the-light-of-the-ancient-Near-East" approach, is the attempt to connect the O. A. N. with the royal treaties of diverse origin in the time and space, and especially with the curse-clauses attested therein. The pioneer of this interpretation of the O. A. N. seems to have been C. F. Fensham.[37] To be sure, the author's main concern is less with the O. A. N. and more with the phenomenon of "prophetic malediction". But the author does pause to note that

> A remarkable agreement between Sefiré-curses and Maledictions against foreign nations exists.[38]

The author goes on to suggest that the treaty curses and prophetic malediction share in common a legal background and that the "calamities predicted against foreign nations must have developed out of these (i. e. anti-Israel) maledictions."[39] (The latter assertion is, of course, odd especially since no corroborating evidence is furnished). The positing of a legal background for the O. A. N. is the H-G reaction to the M&R interpretation furnished by Bentzen, a reaction most fully elaborated by Reventlow[40] who speaks of Amos 1 as a "Völkerritual" at an assumed annual Covenant-renewal festival.[41]

The full implications of the "curse hypothesis" are however, noted by neither Fensham nor Reventlow, but rather by D. R. Hillers,[42] who states:[43]

> Questions as to the nature and purpose of the oracles on foreign nations are raised by the fact that a high-proportion of expressions with parallels in treaty-curses occurs in them...
>
> ...Is the implication present in some cases that these nations have broken treaties with Israel?

The H-G hypothesis will be taken up critically in the course of the study; suffice it at this point to note that Fensham's conclusions are methodologically suspect (Hillers, more prudently, merely poses a question, albeit a programmatic one): a similarity of poetic imagery hardly warrants the sweeping inference that the O. A. N. -- much less

prophetic "malediction" in toto -- is form-critically dependent upon or even related to the bi-lateral treaty forms.[44] The degree to which the O. A. N. material as a whole has been misunderstood -- or insufficiently examined -- is exemplified by the following statement:[45]

> The reproach for sins is at the background of all the maledictions of doom, even those against foreign nations. (italics added)

In point of fact, the most significant difference between the O. A. N. and classical prophetic writings is precisely the relative scarcity -- and in some cases virtual absence -- of "Motivation" elements, a point long ago observed by Gressman.[46]

A review of scholarly discussion of the O. A. N. must include a summary of what is perhaps the most significant approach to the material yet to emerge. Largely emanating from the circle of Israeli scholars and published in modern Hebrew, it cannot but have escaped the notice of all but a few of their European and American counterparts. The major studies are by M. Diman-Haran;[47] I. A. Seeligmann;[48] and especially Y. Kaufmann.[49]

To a considerable extent, this approach represents a revival of the earlier Gunkel-Gressman hypothesis: like the latter, they see the O. A. N. tradition as part of the literary heritage of the pre-classical

mantic-prophetic era. But unlike the latter, the appeal is not to such general concepts as "eschatology", "Heil" vs. "unHeil", but rather to the earliest examples of Israelite and even pre-Israelite literary material. Specifically, the O. A. N. is seen as a development of the ancient Mošlim literature,[50] of which fragmentary survivals within the O. A. N. tradition can still be discerned.

Haran's study is limited to a comparative literary analysis of Isa. 15-16 and Jer. 48. Addressing himself to the problem of the place-names, the author concludes that both compositions represent elaborations of an "archaic fragment" found in Nu. 21, the so-called Song of the Mošlim. The author does not go so far as to identify the whole of the O. A. N. with the Mošlim material, nor is his study concerned with probing into the O. A. N. material for further evidence of this relationship. But the study is nonetheless a pioneering attempt at understanding O. A. N. material as the result of a historically continuous process of literary creativity reaching back to Israel's early history.

The aforementioned hypothesis is more systematically formulated by I. A. Seeligmann in a study entitled, "Concerning the problems of Prophecy in Israel, its History and Character." The major thesis is not directly concerned with the O. A. N. but rather with establishing the extent of mantic-prophetic influence on the classical prophets. In the process of elaborating his thesis, the author concludes that the major

literary influence is via the O. A. N. tradition which he sees as fundamentally "war-prophecy".[51] The author notes further the lack of moral categories in the O. A. N. tradition in contrast with classical prophecy.[52] The author takes as evidence for his contention the literary parallels that characterize the collections in their present form:[53]

> It would appear that most of them (i. e. the foreign oracles) are not the personal creation of the prophets in whose books we find them but rather fragments of a national-prophetic literature which developed during the generations...
>
> The relation between the Moab prophecies in Isaiah and Jeremiah, the relation between the vision of Obadiah and Jeremiah's Edom prophecy are such as to establish these assumptions. But most significant of all is the evolution of the ancient Song of the Moslim.

For the most part, however, the aforementioned studies posit an interesting hypothesis, rather than undertaking a detailed analysis of the material itself. In this respect, Y. Kaufmann's discussion represents a step forward in this same direction. The analysis[54] comprises the O. A. N. material in Amos and Jeremiah. With regard to Amos 1:2ff, Kaufmann contends that it lacks the major characteristic of classical prophecy which seeks "to unify the fate of Israel with the fate of the nations." By contrast the O. A. N. material in Amos is "sporadic". Stylistically considered, as well as with regard to content -- esp. historical references -- Amos 1 is to be dated in the 9th century.[55]

With regard to Jeremiah, the author discerns two major groups: an "archaic" or pre-Jeremianic collection (Jer. 48-49:27) and a Jeremianically authored group: 46-47; 49:28-51:58. As evidence for the former classification Kaufmann cites Jer. 28:8 which he takes as proof for the existence of ancient O. A. N. and hazards the suggestion that the name of such a collection may have been "Sĕfer Mišpat Ha-Goyyîm".

Kaufmann further recognized that the Mošlim tradition was at the origin of this pre-classical prophecy. He makes the important observation that the Mošlim tradition included not only the Song of the Mošlim in Nu. 21 but the Balaam poems and the patriarchal blessings;[56] that this tradition was conceived of as "prophetic" in character; and that it formed part of the nation's "literary heritage" -- השכלה ספרותית -- which each generation preserved and cherished.

Finally, in his discussion of the Day of Yahwe,[57] Kaufmann observes that the Y. Y. material is basically "universalized" O. A. N. and that both share in common the major motif of "revenge (nāqām ve-šillēm)", observations which represent a refinement of Gressman's as previously noted.

The appreciation of the O. A. N. as part of the pre-classical literary heritage; its origins in the Mošlim tradition; and its intimate connection with the Y. Y. materials or early Israelite eschatology, similarly of the pre-classical period and especially the 9th century, are among the main-themes of this study.

With access to Kaufmann's work in the original Hebrew, N. K. Gottwald concluded as follows:[58]

> It may thus be claimed with probability that the form (?) of the oracle against the foreign nation was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, form of Hebrew prophecy and that the style and motifs were taken over from non-Israelite prototypes; in some cases the actual foreign compositions were used.

II. Method and Procedure

The study divides into five unequal parts, at once separate and interdependent. Separately considered, each part is an attempt to analyze in depth a specific feature of the O. A. N. tradition; seen as a unity, the component parts are intended to suggest in broad outline the literary history of the tradition.

Part one is devoted to a discussion of the concept of Yom Yahwe, its influence and significance in the tradition. The characteristic idioms and language associated with this concept -- e. g.

-- ביום ההוא; עת פקודים; יום אד; יום נקם; יום ד'

are traced in a variety of O. A. N. texts, but pre-eminently Jeremianic. O. A. N. and Y. Y. features are seen to co-exist in "hybrid" form in such texts as Is. 34 and Joel 4, with the grounds for distinguishing the one from the other being: a) "Collective" enumeration of foreign nations (Y. Y.) versus the "specification" of the O. A. N. b) "Pragmatic" versus "meta-physical" orientations of the O. A. N. and Y. Y. respectively. These differences suggest distinct literary origins for the O. A. N. and Y. Y. Y. Y. influence in the O. A. N. is further seen in the latter's use of theophany. The witness par-excellence for O. A. N. theophany is a stereotyped formulary found in Am. 1:2, Jer. 25:30, and Joel 4:16. This

formulary is seen to derive from ancient Holy War traditions involving a Divine-Warrior motif. The fusion of Y. Y. theophany and O. A. N. in Ps. 60:8f (=108:9f) is taken as the first intimation that the Y. Y. and O. A. N. share a common cultic setting if not literary origins.

This leads to a brief summary of the interpretation-history of the concept Yom Yahwe. The studies of Gressman, Mowinckel and von Rad are taken as respectively representative of "eschatological", Myth-Ritual, and Heilsgeschichte approaches to the problem. The solution offered by way of conclusion is a compromise between all three viewpoints. The Y. Y. concepts are considered as having their literary origin in Holy War tradition. "With the rise of the monarchy, this tradition becomes part of a 'royal cult' preserved by prophetic circles employed at the court and active in the cult...", the result of a traditions - synthesis. The theophanic formulary in Am. 1:2 etc. is best seen as derived from the liturgy of this royal cult at Jerusalem.

The deeply-rooted Y. Y. influences in the O. A. N. - suggesting a "contamination" of literary traditions - is considered conclusive evidence that, despite distinct literary origins, the same circles of court-prophets preserved and developed of the Y. Y. and O. A. N. traditions which - from the time of the monarchy on - share a common cultic framework.

In part II we are concerned with a variety of motifs united by a common war-setting: "fire"; "exile and captivity"; "disinheritance (√yrš)"; "perdition (√abd)"; and "lament". "Fire", "Exile" and "Captivity" are discussed together since they share additional features in common:

(a) They are extant in the O. A. N. tradition in a stylistically stereotyped form.

(b) They point to the Song of the Mošlim (Nu. 21:27ff) as the most significant single literary influence on the tradition, justifying the latter being designated a proto-O. A. N. composition.

The stereotyped character of the "fire", "exile" and "captivity" motifs presents the opportunity of defining the "laws" governing the existence and development of motif-stereotypes as well as tracing the direction of literary influence. It is observed that literary stereotypes exist only within the limits allowed by the phenomenon of parallelismus membrorum; that this phenomenon gives rise to stylistic variants, both "primary" and "secondary". The former is defined as a variant which co-exists as part of a stereotype-structure, neither adding nor subtracting therefrom. In a sense, all the members of a stereotype-structure are "primary variants" since they can all be substituted for by stylistic

synonyms without causing any "breakdown" in the stereotype itself. A "secondary variant", by contrast, is one which develops in the course of "stereotype breakdown", i. e. when the stereotype begins to lose one or more of its structural and/or lexical features and, in varying degrees, undergoes changes in its semantic frame of reference.

More concretely stated: the fire-motif is first attested in stereotyped form in Am. 1:3ff, Jer. 17:27, 49:27 and possibly Hos. 8:14. In relation to them, Nu. 21:28 -- and probably, Ju. 9:15, 20 -- are pre-stereotyped versions of the motif. In turn, Am. 3:9--probably also 4:3--Jer. 21:14, 50:32, Lam. 4:11, Ez. 30:8, 14(16), 39:6 reflect the stereotype in varying stages of "breakdown". It is emphasized, however, that stereotyped-breakdown is not necessarily a function of chronological development, although the more extreme cases of "breakdown" may be so related.

Treatment of the "captivity" and "exile" motifs is along similar lines. Here the Song of the Mošlim is seen as the source of the captivity-stereotype and attested in the O. A. N. --in varying stages of "breakdown"--in Jer. 48:46, Ez. 30:18, Nah. 3:10. The exile stereotype occurs in Am. 1:15, Jer. 49:3, Nah. 3:10. The literary-historical and stylistic relationship between the two motifs is complex and problematic. It is tentatively suggested that the two are nonetheless related, with the "captivity" motif historically prior but giving way to the exile-motif as a result of changed historical and political circumstances.

A final problem related to the "captivity" and "exile" motifs involves the motif of "return", expressed via the idiom šwb šebût. As a Heil motif occurring within the O. A. N. tradition it is at once unique and problematic. The intrusion of a Heil motif as such is to be explained as part of a moral-theological Tendenz which comes to make itself felt in the later stages of O. A. N. development (i. e. post 8th century). As an hypothesis explaining the specific intrusion of the "return motif", it is suggested that it stems from a concept of a covenantal relationship between God and the nations, a concept which finds explicit mention in the post-exilic text that is Zech. 11:10, but which is in fact implicit in the relatively early text that is Deut. 32:8. "The return" is thus to be interpreted as the "grace" of the Divine suzerain vis-à-vis the vassal nation.

The examination of Mošlim-derived war motifs continues in the discussion of the √yrš. The √yrš - in some O. A. N. passages at least, principally Jer. 49:2, Ob. 17 -- is seen to reflect a literary stereotype preserved in slightly divergent -- but nonetheless related forms -- in the Balaam Lays (Nu. 24:18) as well as in two Patriarchal blessings (Gen. 22:17, 24:10). Applying the technique of stereotype-analysis, an attempt is made to reconstruct the Urtext prototype as well as to define the nature of the interrelationships between the extant O. T. versions of the stereotype.

A unique feature of the √yrš-motif is its special affinity to a particular nation-state -- viz. Edom -- as compared with the "universal applicability" characteristic of most, if not all, O. A. N. motifs. This feature is seen to be connected with the Jacob-Edom cycle of narratives, where "inheritance" (√yrš) is a key issue. In late pre-exilic and exilic sources one observes a motif-transfer, with √yrš applied to Ammon as well as Edom. The transfer is considered prompted by specific historical circumstances connected with the aftermath of the destruction of the Temple.

The √ʾabd -- and its stylistic variants √krt and √šdd -- is a most common occurrence in the tradition of unHeil that is the O. A. N. Two relatively fixed usage-patterns are attested, one involving the Qal-stem, the other the Niph'al-stem, of the term. As a doom-motif employed with political enemies, the √ʾabd in the O. A. N. can be traced to literary antecedents in ancient war-literature, both Israelite and non-Israelite. The O. T. evidence is supplied by Nu. 24 -- i. e. the Mošlim tradition -- as well as Ju. 5 and Ps. 92:10; the extra-biblical parallel is Mesha, line 7. The connecting link between all these materials -- biblical as well as extra-biblical -- is the "taunt", as expressed via the device of direct quotation.

In connection with "enemies" -- actual or potential -- the √ʾabd figures additionally -- in the O. T. as well as outside it -- as a "curse" motif. The O. T. evidence is Deut. 28, Lev. 26; the extra-biblical material, the Aramaic Sefiré traties and the Nĕrab burial inscriptions. The possibility that the term may have originated as part of "treaty terminology" is considered but ultimately rejected. It seems rather to have been the case -- in Israel as well as beyond -- that the √ʾabd was especially prominent as "curse" and "war-taunt" motifs, represented in the O. T. by Deut. 28-Lev. 26 and Nu. 24-Ju. 5 respectively. The prominence of the term in the O. A. N. is considered to stand in direct line of descent from the latter.

It is not immediately evident that a discussion of "lament" features belongs to an investigation of war-motifs. However, the conclusions drawn concerning the significance of lament-motifs in the O. A. N. would seem to justify this decision.

Our discussion centers on the "wailing" motif as an instance of "lament" influence in the O. A. N. The stylistic evidence for this motif is pre-eminently the use of √yll and its variants "hôi" and "qôl ṣ/zĕʿaqāh". The √yll is shown to exist in the O. A. N. in stereotyped combination with √šdd. Is. 15:1-2 is seen to represent a paranomasian tour-de-force based on this stereotype thereby pointing to the antiquity of the stereotype in question.

The significance of the lament-genre as a whole within the O. A. N. is then discussed. Drawing on a number of conclusions arrived at by Eissfeldt in his monograph Der Maschal, especially the identification of the Mošlim Song as war-taunt literature, it is shown that the use of "lament" in the O. A. N. reflects the "taunt" -- or Mošlim -- origins of the tradition, indeed that the tradition is itself essentially a "taunt literature". The ironic use of lament motifs is demonstrated in Nu. 21 and 24 as well as Ju. 5.

On the basis of a variety of O. T. passages we venture the hypothesis that the Mošlim are identical with the משחקות of I Sam. 18:9, with the latter institutionally related to -- possibly even identical with -- the מקוננות or professional "wailing women". Suggestive parallels are provided by Ug. bkyt/mšspdt and ktrt, though the uncertainty connected with the role and function of the latter makes it hazardous to equate them with "rejoicing women" and thereby with the משחקות.

The following two discussions comprise part three of the study. Our concern is the question of prophetic influence -- both classical and pre-classical -- in the O. A. N.

Two "schools of thought" characterize modern Biblical research of the prophetic term maśśaʾ deriving from the dual connotations of the √nśaʾ as "carry; bear" and "raise up". Following Gehman, it is concluded that the term maśśaʾ in the O. A. N. is a technical prophetic term for an oracle-of-doom.

The stereotyped O. A. N. usage pattern -- preeminently attested in Isa. 13-23 -- is shown to represent an apocopation of a usage pattern witnessed to by 2K. 19:25, the latter formulaically represented by Y+√nśaʾ+ʿal/ʾel+X, with Y identical with the subject-agent -- generally YHWH -- and X the object - referent. The expression maśśaʾ YHWH in Jer. 23 is seen to be similarly an apocopation of this pattern and the direct link between the "complete" non-O. A. N. and the apocopated O. A. N. forms.

The problem of definition is then considered. Following an analysis of the √nśaʾ in the O. T., the interpretations of both "schools of thought" are seen to be problematic. Resolution of the problem is partly facilitated by the observed idiomatic connections between O. A. N. maśśaʾ and the use of √nśaʾ with mašal -- significantly in its "taunt" connotation -- and "lament" terminology. This identification favors the "raise-up" hypothesis.

Yet the evidence of the stylistic variant of O. A. N. maśśaʾ, viz. hinnenî ʾa/ʾeleka -- predominantly in Ezekiel -- suggests that the "burden" connotation of maśśaʾ continued to co-exist as a kind of double-entendre

and emerged to the fore when for reasons unknown the term maśśa' as technical prophetic terminology fell into temporary disuse.

Finally, the attempt is made to draw out the "historical" implications of the literary analysis. It is suggested that while the term maśśa' in the O. A. N. is unmistakable evidence for the prophetic character of the tradition, the term cannot be seen as the invention of the classical prophets and that a pre-8th century prophetic origin must be presumed. The term, it is further suggested, can be seen as indicative of a literary continuity between "former" and "latter" prophecy.

The analysis of Begründung or "Motivation" takes it point of departure from Westermann's form-critical analysis of prophetic speech as consisting of Begründung and Ankündigung, subsumed under the concept of the prophet as "messenger" or "Boten". Westermann's accurate observation --anticipated by Gressman-- that O. A. N. prophecy distinguished itself form-critically from classical, Israel-oriented prophecy in terms of the Begründung component is taken up and developed. The differences are seen to be both quantitative and qualitative, at least what concerns the "early" strata of the O. A. N. tradition. Basing ourselves on Am. 1:2-2:8--and, to a lesser extent, the proto-O. A. N. materials that are Nu. 21 and 24--we argue that the unique

features of O. A. N. Begründung lie in its specific charges of a political-military and anti-Israel character, with no reference to the "internal" behaviour of either the nation accused or Israel. These characteristics are explained as deriving from the "revenge-and-recompense" ideology shared by the O. A. N. and Y. Y. The non-moralistic character of O. A. N. Begründung emerges from an analysis of the √pš' in Am. 1. The term is shown to be a quasi-technical term for political offense, not unrelated to its apparently technical meaning of "treaty violation" in (e. g.) IK. 12:19, Hos. 8:1.

These and other considerations of a literary nature are taken as evidence both for the pre-classical prophetic origins of the O. A. N. in general and Am. 1 in particular. The latter thesis is supported by the historical analysis of Am. 1 by Y. Kaufmann.

It is further argued that the development of Begründung evidences the unmistakable influence of classical prophecy, an influence discernible in the gradual moralization of Begründung concepts and motifs.

A case in point is provided by one of the few stereotyped Begründung motifs in the O. A. N. A political charge of "territorial expansion" in Am. 1:3 and Zeph. 2:8 becomes the quasi-moralistic charge of "taunting" and "excessiveness" in Zeph. 2:10 and Joel 2:20 respectively and all couched in language clearly related to Am. 1:3.

The development is accompanied by the gradual infusion of moralistic terminology and ethical standards, including a partial repudiation of a "double standard" as concerns Israel and the nations.

A still higher peak of moralization is reached via the "hubris" motif, where the criteria shift from the external to the internal behaviour of nations. It is here that the O. A. N. begins to take on classical prophetic garb. With two dubious exceptions, however, the O. A. N. tradition is totally free of anti-idolatry polemic.

It is argued finally in conclusion that while the classical prophets cannot be viewed as the creators of the O. A. N. tradition, their mark is indelibly imprinted on it.

Part four has as its subject the oracles directed to the foreign rulers (O. A. F. R.). Scholarly research of this material--comprising basically Is. 14; Ez. 28; 29; 31; 32--has generally addressed itself to the mythological allusions and accounts while disregarding the form-critical aspects, not to mention its significance within the main body of O. A. N. tradition.

A four-point form-critical comparison between the O. A. F. R. and O. A. N. is undertaken. The comparison involves the respective treatments of "kingship", the role of Begründung, the use of mšl and qînāh, and the form-critical employment of mythological material.

The respective approaches to "kingship" are in sharp contrast, involving in the O. A. N. a "collective" or "corporate" concept with the ruler a kind of primus inter pares; in the O. A. F. R., a sharply delineated character portrait of the ruler replaces --or at least "personifies"-- the nation as subject. "Motivation" in the O. A. F. R. is seen to center on the "hubris" motif. The characteristic O. A. N. political-military framework is virtually abandoned and is superseded by the moralistic, the theological, and the didactic. It is accordingly argued that the O. A. F. R. represent the "crystallization of 'late' O. A. N. trends and tendencies."

The analysis of "taunt" and "lament" features in the O. A. N. supports such a conclusion. Their widespread use in the O. A. F. R. is clearly distinguishable from their use in the proto--O. A. N. and O. A. N. tradition and may be seen to constitute in the O. A. F. R. a conscious archaising and revival of the ancient tradition.

In its extensive drawing on ancient Near Eastern myth the O. A. F. R. most clearly distinguishes itself from the parent tradition. Form-critically this material serves as allegory or "masal" in its "wisdom" connotation.

Following a schematic outline of the structural and stylistic features that make the O. A. F. R. a fixed composition-form or Gattung, our attention turns to a detailed discussion of the individual compositions

considered both from form-critical, historical, and comparative mythological vantage points.

The composition in Is. 14:14-20 is demonstrated as exemplifying the "complete" type. The internal historical references are indecisive but form-critical considerations point to an exilic date, a date more or less valid for the O. A. F. R. as a whole though not necessarily for all its components. The myth-type represented by the Hēlēl ben Saḥar allegory is identified --with M. H. Pope-- as a "theomachy". A reconstruction of the mythological prototype is attempted on the basis of related Greek, Ugaritic, and O. T. materials.

Similar procedures are followed with the other O. A. F. R. compositions. In Ez. 28:12-20--similarly a "complete type"--we address ourselves inter alia to the question of the "Paradise sagas" preserved here and in Gen. 2-3. It is argued that Ez. 28:12ff --also Ez. 31:3ff-- reflects a Canaanite--or Phoenician--recension of the Mesopotamian original and not--as Pope has suggested--a "theomachy" describing the downfall and demotion of the Canaanite deity, El.

Ez. 29:2-12 and 32:2-15 are analyzed as "deviationist" types, the former constituting a hybrid of traditional O. A. N. and O. A. F. R. features, the latter an "abbreviated" or "incomplete" O. A. F. R. Both compositions excel in their use of "local color" and motif-Anpassung, so much so that the material-especially 32:2ff--is plausibly compared

with an Egyptian "execration drama". While literary dependence cannot be established with absolute certainty, the possibility is raised in the light of Bentzen's "execration-hypothesis".

The discussion concludes with brief form-critical analyses of the remaining O. A. F. R. material, viz. Isa. 14:4-11 and Ez. 28:2-10, and the implications of the investigation for the question of the penetration of foreign mythological matter into Israelite literature. It is suggested that, in view of the evidence of the O. A. F. R., the role of the Exile as a medium of foreign and especially Canaanite influence is not to be underestimated.

Part V is designated "Conclusion". After a brief summation of the major conclusions arrived at in the course of the study, the attempt is made to draw out the implications for the history of prophecy in Israel. The concept of "cultic prophecy" in its two major formulations--M-R and H-G--is examined and found wanting. It is then argued that the O. A. N. tradition and the "former"-prophetic narratives point to the royal court as the sociological locus or Sitz-im-Leben of pre-classical prophecy, with cultic activities a decidedly subordinate feature.

Furthermore, the literary continuity suggested by the O. A. N. as obtaining between "former" and "classical" prophecy finds its institutional correspondence in terms of the concept נביא לגוים

attested to in Jer. 1. The call-pericope in this chapter is seen to be in direct line of literary descent from Ex. 3:4f with the "mission to the nations" of Jer. corresponding to Moses' commission to Pharoah. The expression נביא לגוים itself, it is argued, is "a quasi-technical term of ninth-century origin referring to the O. A. N. functions of the pre-classical prophets", functions dramatically illustrated by Elisha's mission to Damascus and Jonah's to "Nineveh", and sociologically rooted in the royal-court.

NOTES TO "INTRODUCTION"

1. Grundformen Prophetischer Rede (1960), p. 148.

2. R. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the O. T., p. 443.

3. Cf. H. Gressman, Der Messias (1929), pp. 95-97 for a complete listing in accordance with that author's approach.

4. Gressman: 1:3. But cf. discussion of "Yom Yahwe", below; "Fire...", below, n. 4.

5. Am. 2:5-8 deal with Judah and Israel rather than foreign nations. But stylistically these oracles warrant inclusion in the O. A. N. material, though some form-critical differences obtain (e. g. the "Motivation" elements. Cf. below, pp. 101ff)

6. Cf. LXX. The relationship between M T and LXX is:

M T	LXX
25:15-38	32
46	26
47	29:1-7
48:1-45	31
48:45-47	--
49:1-5	30:1-5

49:7-23	29:7-22
49:23-28	30:23-27
49:28-34	30:5-11
49:34-39	25:14-39
50	27
51	28

The list follows The Septuagint Version (Bagster), p. 971. Roughly, MT 25:15-28, 46-51 = LXX 25:14 (MT 13^{b}-14 is missing in LXX)-32. It is generally accepted that the LXX arrangement is closer to the Urtext (cf. Rudolph, Jeremia p. 153); the variations in the internal order however, likely reflect the differences in textual "families" represented by LXX and MT respectively. Cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., "The History of the Biblical text..." in HThR 57 (1964), pp. 281-300.

7. Cf. Cooke, ICC, p. 407: "The two chapters... form an apocalypse".

8. ZAW 8, pp. 177-216.

9. The grounds for this determination need not pre-occupy us here - or elsewhere for that matter - since our concern is seldom the question of individual authorship. One cannot, however, but concur with Reventlow's observation (Liturgie..., p. 41, n. 80) "dass die Fremdvölkerkapitel Jer. 46-51 generell nicht von dem Propheten stammen [bleibt] eine durchaus noch unbeweisene Behauptung."

10. Ibid., p. 211.

11. Pp. 208-209.

12. "Edom in Urteil der Propheten" in Kart Marti Festschrift, BZAW, 41), pp. 109-117.

13. Cf. immediately below.

14. ZAW 53, pp. 209-239; ZAW 54, pp. 240-262.

15. ZAW 53, p. 218.

16. Cf. below, Conclusion, part II.

17. Pp. 144-158.

18. Pp. 68ff.

19. Der Messias, p. 70.

20. Just how "modern" this statement is can be seen by comparing similar statements by Reventlow (Das Amt...) and Fensham, ZAW 74 (1962), pp. 1-9.

21. Cf. von Rad, Theologie (II), p. 127 for a critique of Gressman's eschatological approach.

22. Cf. Reventlow, Das Amt Des Propheten...(1962), p. 13; Begründung, below.

23. RGG IV, cols. 1538-54.

24. Westermann, op. cit., p. 18.

25. Cf. von Rad, Theologie (II), p. 48.

26. Op. cit., p. 145f.

27. AJSL 41, pp. 24-33.

28. IEJ I, pp. 149-159.

29. Ibid., p. 149. Cf. also A. Malamat "Amos 1:5 in the light of the Tel-Barsip Inscriptions" (BASOR, 129 (1953), pp. 25-26; H. L. Ginsberg, "Judah and the Transjordan States from 734-582 B. C. E." in A. Marx Jubilee Volume (1950), pp. 347-368.

30. Associations of Cult Prophets, p. 153.

31. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, (1944), p. 76.

32. The material is as follows:

> Die grosse Herrin der Götter bin ich
> mein Schrecken ist furchtbar er liegt
> auf dem Lande (Sumer) mein Schreckens-
> glanz liegt auf allen Fredländern meine
> Weisungen kennt kein Mensch.

I would assume that the reference to "Fremdländern" suggested the parallel to Haldar. It is to be emphasized that Falkenstein himself drew no such comparison.

33. OTS 8 (1950), pp. 85-99.

34. Ibid., p. 93.

35. The interpretation is accepted (e. g.) by Föhrer, "Prophetie und Magie", ZAW 78 (1966), p. 40f; Ezechiel (HAT), p. 144.

36. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

37. ZAW 74, pp. 1-9; ZAW 75, pp. 155-176.

38. ZAW 75, p. 167.

39. Ibid., pp. 172-3.

40. Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos (1963). Cf. also idem, Wächter über Israel (1962), where a similar case is made for Ezekiel. Note that not only the O. A. N. but all the "doom" - oracles--Israel-centered as well -- are seen as part of a covenant-curse ritual.

41. Das Amt..., p. 111f.

42. Treaty Curses and the O. T. Prophets (1964).

43. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

44. Reventlow (Wächter...) argues convincingly for a close literary connection between Lev. 26 -- "curses" of the Holiness Code -- and Ezekiel. But then the relationship between the two -- especially the Holiness Code, chs. 19-26 -- is long-established and Lev. 26 is but a part of it. Cf. also S. Gevirtz (VT 11 (1961), pp. 137-158) where the extra-biblical "curse-material" is compared not with prophetic malediction but with "casuistic" law.

45. Fensham, ZAW 75, p. 175.

46. Cf. above, p. 6.

47. BIES (1947), pp. 7-16; now reprinted in BIES Reader, part II, (1965), pp. 280-288.

48. Eretz Israel III, pp. 125-132.

49. Tôldôt Ha-Emunāh ha-Yisra'elīt, vol. III.

50. The term "Mošlim" is taken from Nu. 21:27, but according to Kaufmann it included originally the Balaam Lays as well the Patriarchal Blessings.

51. Op. cit., p. 130.

52. Ibid., p. 125.

53. Ibid., p. 130. Cp. also N. H. Tur-Sinai, Ha-lašon ve ha-Sefer I (2nd Ed.) pp. 81-85, who speaks of דפוסים קדומים of Amos' O. A. N.

54. Op. cit., pp. 38ff; 415ff.

55. Ibid., pp. 41-91.

56. Cf. J. Lindblom ("Wisdom in the O. T. Prophets", VT. Suppl. III, pp. 192-204) who is "convinced" that the "the pattern of (Amos i-ii) is the tribal poem... Here the Israelite tribes are replaced by the foreign

pagan nations..." (Ibid., p. 202). The grounds for this conviction remain, as far as I know, to be presented. Still, the hypothesis indirectly supports Kaufmann. For one specific case of a "Patriarchal blessing" -- O. A. N. tie-in, cf. the discussion of √yrš, below.

57. Op. cit., pp. 46, 158, 346.

58. All the Kingdoms...p. 49.

CHAPTER I - "YOM YAHWE" IN THE O. A. N.

I. Introduction

The O. A. N. tradition is a major locus of motifs and expressions relating to the concept of Yom Yahwe. In his study of this concept, von Rad[1] cites sixteen major contexts;[2] seven turn out to be part of an O. A. N. collection while two more are "hybrid" compositions i. e. Y. Y. and O. A. N. elements inextricably fused.[3] The connection between the Y. Y. and O. A. N. traditions has long been recognized. Thus Kaufmann[4] designates Y. Y. prophecies "universalized O. A. N."; Gressman[5] considered both the O. A. N. and Y. Y. traditions part of a single pre-classical prophetic "eschatology". The common ground -- ideological and literary -- occupied by the O. A. N. and Y. Y. traditions is indeed considerable. The points of literary contact, to be discussed shortly, involve (a) the idiom Yôm Yahwe as well as its numerous stylistic reflexes; (b) theophany and Divine-warrior imagery.[6] The phenomenon of "hybrid" texts outside the formal collections of O. A. N. material is perhaps the strongest argument for the inter-relationship.

The O. A. N. and Y. Y. traditions are also one in their ideology, an ideology which radically sets them apart from the classical prophetic tradition.[7] This ideology finds its stereotyped expression in the phrase

nāqām ve-šillem,[8] "revenge and recompense", which ideology in turn serves to explain another non-classical prophet feature shared by these two traditions: the minimal use of moralistic criteria and categories. Both traditions, moreover, are war-oriented with the destruction of the enemy or enemies the major objective.

The question, in fact, arises whether there are grounds for distinguishing the O. A. N. and Y. Y. traditions. The answer is nonetheless in the affirmative. The criteria are as follows:

(a) Descriptions of Y. Y. invariably feature cosmic upheaval as part of Divine theophany. This is not true of the O. A. N. generally, which is relatively "pragmatic".

(b) The cosmic scope of the Y. Y. tradition necessarily involves a second distinguishing characteristic, viz. the constant reference to "the nations" - goyyîm - rather than the specific mention of an individual nation-state which is a sina qua non in O. A. N. composition.

Both characteristics ultimately explain the incorporation of Y. Y. into "eschatology"[9] (e. g. Joel 4; Ez. 37-38). For as we shall yet have occasion to observe, the Y. Y. tradition has its origin in the Holy War traditions of early Israel. The eschatological utilization of this tradition reflects the general anthropological tendency to equate Endzeit and

Urzeit.[10] The O. A. N. tradition, on the other hand, is not rooted in this Holy War tradition, but rather in a "secular" war-literature as exemplified by the Moslim Song". However, before proceeding to discuss the question of literary origins, we must first consider the evidence of Y. Y. in the O. A. N. tradition. We propose to discuss this influence under two headings:

(a) The idiom "Day of Yahweh" and related terms in the O. A. N.

(b) "Theophany" in the O. A. N.

II The idiom "Day of Yahweh" and related terms

The characteristic and identifying idiom of the Y. Y. tradition is "day of Yahweh". Accordingly, its occurrence in the O. A. N. tradition is important evidence in establishing a connection between the two traditions. We shall observe that not only the idiom itself but its major stylistic variants are represented in the O. A. N. tradition.

A. Explicit reference to the "day of Yahweh" in a text forming part of an O. A. N. collection is found in

Ez. 30:2-3 הילילו הה ליום כי קרוב יום...[12] לד׳
יום ענן עת גוים יהיה

The Y. Y. character of this passage is beyond doubt or question. The reference to ענן recalls the vivid description of Joel 3:3-4, Amos 5:18. The idiom כי קרוב יום is a stereotyped Y. Y. formulary: cp. Is. 13:6, Zeph. 2:3-4, and Ob. 15.[13] The reference to goyyîm - also in Ob. 15 - illustrates the principal literary difference between the Y. Y. and O. A. N. traditions: the "collective" versus the "specific" designation.

The oracle as a whole, however, is basically O. A. N. This can be seen in vss. 3-9: the prophet reverts to the O. A. N. principle of specific enumeration: Egypt, Nubia, Libya and associates (vss. 4-5). O. A. N. influence can be seen, moreover, in the Y. Y. passage cited above: the term הילילו - √yll: to wail - is one of many "lament-motifs" featuring the O. A. N. tradition from end to end.[14]

The influence of the Y. Y. tradition is especially strong in the book of Obadiah: indeed, the latter is a hybrid - composition of O. A. N. and Y. Y. elements. The former is principally represented in vss. 2-10: vss. 2-6 are variation on Jer. 49:9-10; the √abd and √krt (vss. 8-10) are similarly well attested O. A. N. terms.[15] The Y. Y. influence begins to make itself felt in vss. 12-14 -- the repetitive "b^{e}yôm" representing a reflex of the Yom Yahweh idiom. It is in vs. 15ff, however, that Y. Y. influence in most in evidence:

vs. 15 כי קרוב יום ד׳ על כל הגוים -

Cp. Ez. 30:2-3 above. This strophe is followed by the "revenge - motif", a motif which finds its stereotyped expression in the idiom: yôm nāqām ve-šillem.[16] Note, too, the collective-designation "goyyîm" in vs. 16. The oracle concludes significantly with (vs. 21): והיה לד' המלוכה for according to Mowinckel,[17] the Day of Yahwe is the day of Divine enthronement.

B. In addition to the idiomatic Yôm Yahwe, Y. Y. texts evidence a number of technical terms which are best seen as stylistic reflexes of the Yôm Yahwe concept. These are: (1) yôm-nāqām (ve-šillem) (2) yôm 'ēd (3) bayyōm ha-hû'.[18] All three variants are attested in O. A. N. collections.

(i) "Day of revenge (and recompense)"

This idiom occurs explicitly in Isa. 34, an essentially Y. Y. composition with O. A. N. admixtures. The prophecy begins with an appeal to the nations of the world: note the term "goyyîm" in v. 1. From vs. 5 onwards, however, the referent is no longer the world but the specific nation of Edom. Verses 10-14 find literary echoes in the O. A. N. material that is Isa. 13:21-22, Jer. 50:39-40.[19] The Y. Y. influence is strongest in vss. 5-10, where the language is strongly reminiscent of Deut. 32, especially vss. 35-43. In Isa. 34:8 we read:

כי יום נקם לד׳
שנת שלומים לריב ציון

In Deut. 32:35 (MT) we find:

לי נקם ושלם ...
כי קרוב יום אידם

The expression -- כי קרוב יום -- is, as we have seen, a Y.Y. stereotype. The expression -- יום איד -- is a stylistic variant of the very idiom Yôm Yahwe.[20] Finally, the LXX and Samaritan to Deut. 32:35 read an equivalent of ליום נקם ושלם.[21] Taken into account with Isa. 34:8 it is clear that these versions have preserved the correct reading. The following passages confirm this picture:

Isa. 61:2
לקרא שנת רצון לד׳
יום נקם לאלהינו

63:4
כי יום נקם בלבי
ושנת גאולי בא

Common to all three Isaiah passages is the idiom "yôm nāqām' and the stylistic synonymity of yôm and šānāh.[22] Along with Deut. 32:35 they serve to establish the expression yôm nāqām (ve-šillem) as a stereotyped idiomatic reflex of Yôm Yahwe.

In the O. A. N. collections one can point to the following witnesses to this idiom.

Jer. 46:10 יום נקמה להנקם מצריו

51:6 (11) עת נקמה היא לד׳

The significance of the Y. Y. - O. A. N. tie-in at this point extends beyond the purely stylistic. As we shall argue further on in this study,[23] the notion of "revenge and recompense" lies at the very heart of the O. A. N. tradition. It represents the characteristic Begründung or "motivation" of the various doom-pronouncements, at least in the earlier strata. So vital an aspect of a literary tradition can hardly be a "random borrowing". We are forced to conclude that a profound thematic unity characterizes the O. A. N. and Y. Y. traditions, a unity which, in turn, argues for a common Sitz-im Leben. This question will occupy our attention in the concluding part of this chapter.

(ii) "yôm ʾēd"

A second literary reflex of the idiom Yôm Yahwe is Yôm ʾēd.[24] Its occurence in the Y. Y. context of Deut. 32 has been mentioned; within the O. A. N. collections, the idiom is found in:

Jer. 46:21 כי יום אידם בא עליהם

With this one might compare Ob. 13, though the style there is more suggestive of Wisdom.[25] Were there any doubt as to the relationship of yôm ʾēd and yôm Yahwe, it would be dispelled by Jer. 48:16: כי קרוב איד מואב לבוא i. e. the very same stereotyped expression - כי קרוב - previously observed is here combined with ʾēd.

Additional witnesses to this idiom in the O. A. N. are:

Jer. 49:8	כי איד עשו הבאתי עליו עת פקדתיו
50:27	כי בא יומם עת פקדתים
50:31	כי בא יומך עת פקדתיך

Here it is already possible to observe the emergence of still another idiomatic reflex, viz. עת פקודים : recall that in Ez. 30:3 עת גוים stands in synonymous parallelism with yôm Yahwe.

As an aside, it might be pointed out that the idiom yôm ʾēd -- like yôm Yahweh in Amos 5:18 -- comes to be used in an anti-Israel oracle.

Jer. 18:17[26] אראם ביום אידם

Similarly the variant, עת פקודים :

Jer. 10:14 בעת פקדתים יאבדו

The likelihood of an O. A. N. provenance of the latter strophe is enhanced by the juxtaposition of the idiom with the √ʾabd, itself of high frequency

in the O. A. N. The high degree of flexibility characterizing this term can be surmised from its eventual employment to designate the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6:

Ez. 35:5 וחגר את ישראל ביום אידם

Ob. 13 אל תבוא בשער עמי ביום אידם

The framework is still O. A. N.; but the idiom figures as part of a "charge" (Anklage) rather than as a motif of "doom" directed to the nations.

(iii) "bayyôm ha-hû'"

The idiom "bayyôm ha-hû'" is a third Y. Y. expression connecting the two traditions.[27] As a Y. Y. idiom it is found (e. g.) in Joel 4:18. In the O. A. N. it is represented in

Jer. 49:22[28] והיה לב גבורי אדום ביום ההוא
כלב אשה מצרה

Particularly instructive is the use of this idiom in Am. 9:11-12:

ביום ההוא אקים את סכת דוד הנופלת...
למען יירשו את שארית אדום וכל הגוים

Though considered "inauthentic" by most commentators,[29] this passage is best taken as the conclusion of the O. A. N. collection in Amos 1.[30] The fusion of Y. Y. and O. A. N. is readily apparent: the idiom "bayyôm

ha-hû' " and the collective goyyîm representing Y. Y., the √yrš - motif[31] and the specific mention of Edom constituting the O. A. N. material.[32]

A similar fusion has taken place in:

Joel 4:18-19

והיה ביום ההוא	יטפו ההרים עסיס...
מצרים לשממה תהיה	ואדום למדבר שממה תהיה
מחמס בני יהודה	אשר שפכו דם נקיא בארצם

The book of Joel as a whole, and chap. 4 in particular, is essentially part of the Y. Y. tradition,[33] so that no ambiguity attaches to the concept "bayyôm ha-hû' ". The following description of the metamorphosis of Nature is confirming evidence, as are the preceding references to yôm Yahwe -- in the stereotyped form -- (vs. 14), and goyyîm (vs. 12). Beginning with vs. 19, however, we find traditional O. A. N. features: the specific mention of Egypt and Edom, their specific offense, and the doom-motif of "Šmmh":

Cp. Jer. 48:9 — ועריה לשממה תהיינה

Ez. 35:4 — עריך חרבה אשים
ואתה שממה תהיה

Zeph. 2:4 — כי עזה עזובה תהיה
ואשקלון לשממה

The Zeph. passage is particularly significant since it too is set in an otherwise Y. Y. context. Note the explicit references to yôm Yahwe in vss. 7, 14 and the description of "darkness" in v. 15.

III. "Theophany"

Two major O. A. N. collections are introduced by strikingly similar expressions.[34]

Am. 1:2[35] ד׳ מציון ישאג ומירושלים יתן קולו

Jer. 25:30 ד׳ ממרום ישאג וממעון קדשו יתן קולו
שאג ישאג על נוהו

The Amos version represents the expression in its more stereotyped form, a conclusion derived by comparing Joel 4:16.[36] The version in Jeremiah may represent a theologically-motivated alteration,[37] or, more likely, a degree of stylistic flexibility inherent in the stereotype itself.[38]

Whereas Amos and Jeremiah evidence the formula in an O. A. N. connection, Joel reveals the expression in a Y. Y. setting.

Joel 4:16 וד׳ מציון ישאג ומירושלים יתן קולו
ורעשו שמים וארץ

Despite the tendency to date the book in the post-exilic period[39] we can confidently assert that the original setting of the formula is preserved in this passage, i. e. the formula belongs originally to the Y. Y. tradition of which Joel 4 is a part. The reasoning is as follows: There is hardly an item in the stereotype which cannot be traced to the quasi-

mythological complex of Divine-Warrior motifs. Since the latter in turn constitutes the ultimate source of Y. Y. motifs, the Y. Y. origin of our stereotype is assured.

A. It is instructive to compare the full context of the stereotype in Am. 1 with Nah. 1;14:

Nahum 1:14		Amos 1:2
גוער בים ויבשהו	ומירושלים יתן קולו	ד' מציון ישאג
אמלל בשן וכרמל ופרח לבנון אמלל	ויבש ראש הכרמל	ואבלו נאות הרעים

A stylistic relationship between these passages is deducible from the fact that: (1) יבש - אבל - אמלל are stylistic synonyms (2) the term "karmel". This, in turn, makes it likely that the first strophes respectively - which otherwise do not evidence a relatedness - are in fact part of a single tradition. Now the tradition reflected by strophe "a" in Nah. is beyond question. We confront a mythological allusion to God's primordial conflict with the sea, [40] an allusion well understood today in the light of Akkadian and Ugaritic materials. Cp. also Ps. 106:9, Isa. 50:2, Job. 26:11, where the √g'r is similarly employed. Nor is

there any question but that this primordial activity presupposes the Divine-Warrior theophany evidenced, inter alia, in the Sinai pericope.[41] The very term √gʿr appears with theophanic fire in:

Isa. 66:15

הנה ד׳ באש יבוא
וגעדתו בלהבי אש

The combination with "fire" is particularly significant in the light of a fire-motif stereotype which features Am. 1, even if the ultimate source of this "fire"-stereotype lies outside the theophanic fire-motif.[42]

B. The theophanic Divine-Warrior origin of our stereotype can be established independently by Joel 2:10ff:

לפניו רגזה ארץ רעשו שמים...
וד׳ נתן קולו לפני חילו
כי רב מאד מחנהו
כי גדול יום ד׳

The theophany language is here represented by √rgz and √rʿš in combination with "heaven" and "earth": cp. Ju. 5:4-6. The war-setting is clear from the references to ḥyl and maḥăne. Finally, the explicit mention of yôm Yahwe leave no doubt that it is the Y. Y. tradition which has absorbed this imagery.

It is the expression √ntn qôl which makes this passage particularly relevant to our discussion. For this expression is the very same used as a synonymous variant for √šʿg in the stereotype at hand. Cp. also

Amos 3:4 where the same parallelism of √s'g and √ntn qôl appears. The origin of the idiom √ntn qôl in theophany is confirmed by such passages as: Ps. 18:14[43] וירעם בשמים ד'

and Ps. 29 --the so-called Ugaritic Psalm[44] --, with its virtual hypostasisation of the qôl Yahwe:[45]

Ps. 29:3 קול ד' על המים
אל הכבוד הרעים

Finally, we should like to draw attention to Ps. 60:8 (=108:9):

אלהים דבר בקדשו

At first sight there is little to connect this phrase with "theophany" in general or with the stereotype at hand; only קדשו suggests itself as a parallel in the light of מעון קדשו in Jer. 25:30. The language here is oracular rather than theophanic. Yet what follows suggests that the oracular expression is in effect an adaptation of a Divine-warrior theophany, not unlike the stereotype under discussion:

מואב סיר רחצי — על אדום אשליך נעלי
על פלשת התרועעי — מי יובילני עיר מצור[46]
מי נחני עד אדום

The list-type character of these verses brings to mind O. A. N. materials like Amos 1 and Jer. 25:15ff. The language - e. g. the √ רעע , the first-person speech of the Deity, and the war-setting -- suggest the Y. Y. imagery of the Divine-warrior. In sum, we confront a fusion of Y. Y. and O. A. N. material. What makes this fusion particularly significant is its location in the Psalter: if the Gunkelian-inspired trend to view the latter as essentially cultic be correct, we have here an important witness to the cultic utilization of O. A. N. material. It suggests additionally that the O. A. N. and Y. Y. tradition -- whatever their respective literary origins -- ultimately found expression in a single cultic framework, at least at a certain point in their respective literary developments.

The investigation of this question is our next task.

IV. Yôm Yahwe Research

The first major discussion of the "Day of Yahwe" is found in Gressman's Ursprung der Israelitischen Eschatologie.[47] Taking Amos 5:18 as his starting point, the author concluded:

(a) The term yôm Yahwe was, by the mid-8th century, a technical term with eschatological content.

(b) Its eschatological character is evident in the cosmic frame of reference in which it is set.

(c) The origins of the concept are to be sought in the popular eschatology of the 9th century, especially among the court prophets.

This interpretation has encountered serious opposition by the exponents of the two major "schools" of O.T. research, Myth-Ritual (henceforth M-R) and Heilsgeschichte (henceforth, H-G). Representative viewpoints are S. Mowinckel and G. von Rad. The seemingly sole point of agreement between these scholars is their opposition to the "eschatological" interpretation of this concept. Writes Mowinckel:[48]

> Der Tag Yahweh's bedeutet... ursprünglich seinen thronbesteigungstag. Darin liegt der Schlüssel der ganzen Eschatologie.

There is more at issue here than the concept Day of Yahweh. Both Gunkel and Gressman had accepted a basic distinction in the Psalter between properly "cultic" (i. e. non-temporal) and "eschatological" (or "temporal") psalms. Mowinckel denied this dichotomy:[49]

> der Kult ist das Primäre, die Eschatologie das Abgeleitete.

The concept yôm Yahweh, according to Mowinckel, is originally a non-temporal designation for the cultically-enacted Ascension-Day of Yahweh, the day when "God is become King (יהוה מלך)" after his victorious battle with (historicized) Chaos-masters. The term has its Sitz-im-Leben not in the pre-classical prophetic movement of the 9th century, but in the divine-king ritual of the New Year festival. The witnesses to this concept in prophetic texts (e. g. Micah 4, Zech. 14:8-10) are designated by Mowinckel as "disjecta membra" and "ein Beweis für die Sekundaritat der eschatologischen Vorstellungen den Thronbesteigungsmythen."[50]

The H-G reaction at once to Gressman's thesis and to Mowinckel's counter-thesis is provided by G. von Rad.[51] von Rad is in agreement with Mowinckel in denying to the concept Day of Yahwe an originally eschatological character:

> Where and whenever great political complications were to be seen on the historical horizon, especially when hostile armies were approaching, a prophet could speak of the

> coming Day of Yahwe, be it in the sense that Yahweh in doing battle will turn against the enemy or... against Israel itself. [52]

But whereas for Mowinckel, who equates "eschatology" with "temporality", this denial perforce leads to a (non-historical) cultic interpretation of the concept, for von Rad it involves a reversal of the concept's position on the historical spectrum, from Endzeit to Urzeit. This Urzeit is the period of Holy War, historically co-incident with the period of conquest and early settlement. [53] The imagery surrounding the Y. Y. concept is that of "war - theophany"; it "encompasses a pure event of war, the rise of Yahweh against his enemies, his battle and his victory". [54] Against Mowinckel, von Rad maintains that "there is no support... for the supposition that the enthronement of Yahwe too belongs to the concept of the Day of Yahweh." [55]

The three positions can be summarized as follows. For Gressman, Y. Y. is the central concept of popular eschatology; for Mowinckel, it is a cultic designation of Divine enthronement; for von Rad, it is part of the complex of ideas that constitutes the ancient Holy-War tradition. Still, a critique of the three positions will show, I believe, that they are less mutually exclusive than appears at first sight. [56] Such a demonstration requires a brief resume of the general positions which von Rad and Mowinckel hold as representatives of their respective "schools".

Both the M-R and H-G schools are heirs of the new methodology introduced at the turn of the century by H. Gunkel, [57] a methodology which broke with the purely "literary" approach to the O. T. associated with the name of Wellhausen. Behind it lay a new awareness of ancient Near-Eastern religion, an awareness stemming from the proliferation of new literary material from Babylonia and Egypt, and described by Gunkel as the "verbindung von Wort und Handlung." [58] The basic assumption was that a literary document could be fully understood only in relation to its position in the life-pattern of the society from which it emerged. This position -- its Sitz-im-Leben -- was to be seen as the very raison d'être of the work in question.

Theoretically at least, the determination of a specific Sitz-im-Leben for any given literary document was circumscribed only by the number of social institutions which could be discerned in any given society, religious as well as non-religious. But given at once the overall character of O. T. literature as well as its investigators, it is easily seen how the non-religious spheres receded from view: the question of Sitz-im-Leben becomes co-extensive with Sitz-im-religiosen-Leben, i. e. Sitz-im-Kultus. [59] What remained to be determined was only the specific cultic setting.

Two schools of thought have arisen in the wake of the new method, the M-R and H-G, the former finding its main adherents in the Scandinavian and British academies, the latter in Germany. Both

schools posit as the cornerstone of Israel's cultic life an Autumnal festival,[60] a festival related -- at least calender-wise -- to the traditional Feast of Tabernacles. This is, however, the extent of agreement, either with the traditional Biblical text or with each other. For the M-R school this festival is a New Year celebration patterned on a Babylonian counterpart, viz. the spring Akītu festival.[61] The major theme of this festival is the renewal of kingship via the dramatic presentation of primordial conflicts of the Gods, culminating in the triumphal creation of the world. The main actor in this drama is the king who represents the deity, undergoing in dramatic form the decisive events of the drama: momentary defeat, resurrection, battle, and ultimately victory.[62] The "script" of this drama is furnished in the Psalms as well as fragmentary mythical material elsewhere in the O. T. Insofar as this "script" varies from ancient Near Eastern models, this is due to the historicizing, anti-mythological, Tendenz of the O. T. generally.[63]

That this celebration presupposes the existence of a monarchy is self-evident. Moreover, the central role of the king suggests the Davidic dynasty and Jerusalem as the principal dramatis persona and locale respectively.

The H-G school paints a different picture. Here we find an annual Covenant festival celebrated at the central shrine of Shechem.[64] The roots of this festival lie in the pre-monarchic tribal confederacy or

"amphictyony". This festival, like its M-R counterpart, is similarly concerned with "renewal", but it is a renewal not of kingship but of a God-people covenant. Nor is this renewal seen as dramatic re-enactment in accordance with a historicized mythical script; rather is it executed on the one hand via confessional recitals of a liturgicized rendition of Israel's "saving history" (Heilsgeschichte) on the part of the congregation and the convenantal binding of the latter on the part of the priestly agents of the suzerain deity.[65] The primary proof-texts for this school are Deuteronomy and the deuteronomistic history, especially Josh. 24.

It is not our intention here to critically evaluate the overall validity of these reconstructions. Our interest remains the concept of Y. Y. and its bearing on the O. A. N. tradition. Yet insofar as the Y. Y. controversy reflects the broader disagreement concerning ancient Israelite cult, we are compelled to evaluate, at least in part, the major hypotheses.

From the brief sketch tendered above, it is immediately evident that the two schools are essentially arguing on different ground. The M-R reconstruction has little or no bearing on pre-monarchic Israel; that of the H-G is virtually limited to the pre-monarchic era.[66] Thus, whatever their misgivings of each other's reconstructions, they are not misgivings stemming from mutual incompatibility.[67]

This observation has a considerable bearing on the Y. Y. discussion. The Holy-War origins posited by von Rad refer to a cultic institution characteristic of the pre-monarchic era, an era without prophets, according

to von Rad.[68] What then is the fate of Holy War in the monarchical periods? von Rad's answer is that the institution itself dies out, the tradition lives on. The bearers of this tradition, according to von Rad, are the prophets, especially those of the 9th century:

> Jetzt werden die Propheten Träger und Sprecher von Uberlieferungen die in Volk schon fast erstorben waren.[69]

von Rad does not make specific mention of the Y. Y. concept, but the latter must be included in the Holy-War Uberlieferungen.

This conclusion, in turn, comes extremely close to that of Gressman, who, it will be recalled, posited a 9th century prophetic setting. Even the question of "eschatology" is only apparently in dispute between them. Gunkel and Gressman had long-ago asserted that eschatological motifs were in fact borrowed from the very earliest historical period. This view was expressed as the equation of Urzeit and Endzeit.[70] This Urzeit would presumably include the Holy Wars of the pre-monarchic period or at the very least would stand in close relation to them. For his part, von Rad concedes that:[71]

> Die propheten waren... der Meinung, dass sich Jahwes letzter Aufbruch gegen seine Feinde unter ähnlichen Zeichen ereigen wird wie in dem alten Zeiten...

Disagreement between von Rad and Gressman is accordingly reduced to:

> dass wir schon bei dem Zeitgenossen des Amos eine vollausgebildete, 'Volkseschatologie' voraussetzen könnon...[72]

The points of difference with Mowinckel are similarly less irreconcilable than at first appears. Neither a pre-monarchic cultic Sitz-im-Leben nor a monarchic Sitz-im-Tradition militate against the monarchic Sitz-im-Leben posited by Mowinckel. von Rad's contention that the sources reveal no connection between the Y. Y. concept and divine-enthronement may be valid;[73] but then von Rad is forced to concede that the term yôm Yahwe is absent in the amphi ctyonic war-poetry and Holy-War traditions,[74] making its first appearance in Amos 5.[75] More importantly, however: Divine warrior motifs are everywhere in evidence in the Psalter, in certain cases in direct juxtaposition with "enthronement" motifs: cf. e.g. Ps. 24:7-10.[76]

In light of these considerations, we would suggest the following compromise solution. The Y. Y. concept has its literary origins in the Holy War tradition. With the rise of the monarchy, this tradition becomes part of a "royal cult" (leaving open the question of the nature of this cult) -- preserved by prophetic circles employed at the court (so Gressman) and active in the cult.[77] The juxtaposition of "sacrifices"

and "prayers" with the Y. Y. description in Am. 5:18f is powerful evidence for believing that the Y. Y. concept formed part of the cultic liturgy.[78] The reference to צירן and מעון קדשו in the Theophany-formula point to Jerusalem as the focal point and origin of this cultic employment.

V

How does all of this affect the O. A. N. tradition? In subsequent chapters we intend to show that the literary origins of the O. A. N. tradition are distinct from those of the Holy War and Y. Y. traditions, that it goes back to a "secular" war-tradition as evidenced by the Mošlim Song.[79] Still, the powerful Y. Y. influences in this tradition discussed above suggest a high-degree of literary "contamination". This "contamination", coupled with the pre-classical but nonetheless prophetic character of the O. A. N. tradition,[80] make it highly likely:

(a) that one and the same social circles preserved and developed the Y. Y. and O. A. N. traditions

(b) that one cultic framework characterized both traditions.

This common cultic framework, we suggest, comes into existence with the monarchy and the institutionalized role of the prophet. The transfer of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6) and the centrality of "covenant" in the Israelite - or more precisely, Judahite - conception of monarchy[81] (2 Sam. 7) certainly point to a pattern of tradition - synthesis, a synthesis which would have embraced not only tribal and monarchic tradition but previously disparate tribal traditions as well. We are not in a position to decide whether the idiom yôm Yahwe is

already in use in the early 10th century, but Gressman is surely right in positing the 9th century as the terminus ante quem. The evidence that we have for ninth-century prophetic activity with its court associations and direct political involvement[82] lends further strength to our "royal cult" hypothesis.

Notice must also be taken in this connection of Bentzen's "execration hypothesis",[83] wherein it is argued that the O. A. N. is essentially an "execration" ritual which formed part of the New Year festival. To be sure, this locating of the ritual has not been demonstrated[84] and must now contend with an alternative solution-- proposed by the H-G school[85] -- which, taking its cue from the blessing-curse format of covenant tradition, posits a covenant-ritual setting. It does however serve to establish the a priori feasibility of our solution of the Y. Y. problem.

NOTES ON "Y. Y."

1. "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahwe", (JSS IV 1959) pp. 97-108. In addition to studies referred to subsequently in discussion, cf. L. Cerny, The Day of Yahweh and some Relevant Problems; H. H. Rowley, "The Day of the Lord", in Faith of Israel (1956). The concept is hereafter abbreviated to Y. Y.

2. To these should be added Deut. 32 and perhaps Isa. 61:2, 63:4.

3. For the criteria whereby the two may be distinguished, cf. immediately below, p. 44.

4. Op. cit., III, pp. 46ff.

5. Ursprung..., op. cit., Der Messias, op. cit.

6. The literary origins of Y. Y. in Divine-warrior tradition is irrefutably established by von Rad (op. cit.): cf. also K-D Schunk, "Strukturlinien in der Entwicklung der Vorstellung vom 'Tag Jahwes'", VT XIV (1964), pp. 319-330. Now also, F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Divine Warrior..." in Biblical Motifs (1966), pp. 11-30.

7. Cf. Begründung, below.

8. Cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., p. 158.

9. Cf. von Rad, Theologie (II), p. 137; Schunk, op. cit., p. 320.

10. Cf. below, p. 64 and note 63.

11. The failure to consider this possibility, as well as general methodological shortcomings,-- cf. S. Talmon, "The Desert Motif..." (Biblical Motifs: Lown Studies and Texts III, p. 38 -- characterize the study by R. Bach, Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht...(1962).

12. Reading with LXX. MT reads in full: כי קרוב יום וקרוב יום לה... MT is reflected in Origen's Hexapla: Cf. J. Ziegler Septuaginta, "Ezechiel".

13. Cf. von Rad. (Origin..., op. cit., p. 108): "We can conclude with certainty that for the prophets it was already a firmly coined formula of tradition." Note also the anti-Israel reflex in Ez. 7:7:

14. Cf. below, "The Wailing Motif". von Rad (Origin...) is, in my opinion, mistaken in taking √yll to mean "panic". The O. T. term for "panic" is √bhl.

15. Cf. below, √abd - motif.

16. Cf. immediately below.

17. Ps. St. II., pp. 229ff. Cf. also below, section IV.

18. It is not hereby assumed that all the employments of this phrase carry with them a Y. Y. connotation. But P. A. Munch's conclusion -- The Expression "bajjôm hāhū," (1936) -- that the term has nothing to do with yôm Yahwe is untenable: cf. below and K-D Schunk, op. cit., p. 323.

19. Isa. 13:19-20 כמהפכת אלהים את סדם ועמרה
לא תשב לנצח ולא תשכן עד דור ודור

Jer. 50:39 ולא תשב עוד לנצח *ולא תשכן עד דור ודור*
כמהפכת אלהים את סדם ואת עמרה

-- > LXX

Isa. 34:10 מדור ודור תחרב לנצח נצחים אין עובר בה

20. Cf. immediately below.

21. Cf. BH^3 ad loc. The DSS fragment - 4Q Deut. -- is torn at this point. MT's reading is best explained as a product of "scribal abbreviation": ליום > ליו > לי. Cp. Isa. 12:2, where an assumption of such a thing produced the "correction" of זמרתי to זמרת יה. In IQ Is. the final ה is suspended above the line.

22. The expression שנת גאולי in 63:4 may be seen as combining Y. Y. and Šᵉmiṭah terminology; cp. Lev. 25:24, 31. A similar combination -- this time involving "Jubilee" and Y. Y. -- may underlie the use of דרור in Is. 61:1.

23. Cf. below, Begründung.

24. In addition to O. A. N. and Y. Y. contexts, the expression (yôm) ʿēd is of high frequency in the wisdom literature: six times each in Job and Proverbs. In at least one case -- Ob. 13, Prov. 27:10 -- the Wisdom and O. A. N. - Y. Y. usages converge.

25. Cf. previous note and Begründung below.

26. The immediate context of the expression is not without interest. Vs. 16 reads:

לשום ארצה לשמה שרוקת עולם

כל עובר עליה ישום ויניד בראשו

Cf. also 19:8. Much the same imagery occurs in three O. A. N. passages, two in Jeremiah (49:17, 50:13) and one in Zeph. (2:15). Outside prophetic literature one finds reflexes of this stereotyped language in IK 9:8, Lam. 2:15.

27. Cf. above, note 15.

28. Rudolph (Jeremia, p. 268) considers ביום ההוא to be "metrisch störend" and deletes. The phrase was before the LXX translator(s): ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

29. Cf. (e. g.) Harper (ICC) p. 195; summary in Reventlow, Das Amt des Propheten... pp. 90-1.

30. So. Y. Kaufmann, op. cit., pp. 44ff. According to Reventlow (ibid.) we are dealing with a "Segensritual" which originally was connected with the Fluchritual of 4:6-11.

31. Cf. below, the √yrš - motif.

32. Still another literary tradition is represented by the Heil-motif of Davidic resurrection: cp. Is. 11:1f. This motif has nothing to do with the original Y. Y. complex, which is concerned with the unHeil of nations. It is to my mind a serious confusion to equate in a literary sense UnHeil for nations and Heil for Israel. Cf. below, Begründung.

33. Cf. von Rad, Origin..., p. 101 and shortly below.

34. These expressions have most recently been discussed by M. Weiss (Tarbiz. 34, vols. 1, 2, 3). The analysis is carried out along lines of modern (non-biblical) literary criticism. For a summary of interpretations, cf. pp. 112-119, 303-306.

35. This passage has long been considered extraneous in Amos: cf. A. Bertholet, "Zu Amos 1:2" in Bonwetsch Festschrift (1918) pp. 1-12; M. Weiss, op. cit., pp. 303ff. But cf. A. Bentzen ("The Ritual Background..", OTS 8, p. 94) who defends the Amosian authorship, while considering it to have been a stereotyped phrase in the author's day. According to G. Farr ("The Language of Amos...", VT XVI (1966), pp. 312ff) it and most of Amos I represent "quotations from cultic psalms" (p. 316).

36. Cf. immediately below.

37. By "theologically-motivated" is intended a variation executed on a stereotype prompted by the theological pre-occupations of the author and his times. We shall observe this phenomenon most clearly in our discussion of the fire-motif -- where the object of destruction changes from "royal palaces" to "divine temples" -- and in the use of Begründung - motifs, where "political" charges give way sporadically to "theological" ones.

38. The idea of a "flexible stereotype" is only apparently a contradictio inter se. Stylistic variants characterize even the most stereotyped of O. T. expressions, variants arising from the requirements of parallelismus membrorum. Again, we shall see this process more clearly in our subsequent discussion of the fire-motif.

39. Cf. e. g. Kapelrud, Joel Studies. But Y. Kaufmann (op. cit., III, pp. 334ff) who denies the existence of any evidence for a post-exilic dating, tentatively suggests a 7th century date, Weiss (op. cit., p. 317) makes an interesting case for the dependency of Joel 4:16 on Am. 1:2. Such a dependency, however, in no way affects the conclusion that Joel 4:16 represents the earlier literary setting. It seems clear, for example, that Joel's description of yôm Yahwe in 3:3 is a more or less accurate articulation of the popular conception against which Amos argued in 5:18ff.

40. Already noted by Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, pp. 102ff.

41. S. E. Löwenstamm, Ben-Gurion Festschrift (1964), pp. 508-21.

42. Cf. following chapter.

43. Cf. Gilgameš XI, 98: Adad ina libbi-ša (urpati) irtamama. cf. also note 45 below.

44. Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, Kitbē Ugarit pp. 129ff; J. H. Patton, Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms, pp. 25-26.

45. The idiom appears as a epithet of Hadad-Baal in the Amarna Tablets (Knudtzon, #147, 11. 14-15; cf. Ginsberg, op. cit. p. 129) and is highly frequent in Ugaritic; cf. especially Gordon UM 51:V: 70, where the "voice of Ba'al" is identical with "Thunder":

wtn qlh b'rpt
šrh larṣ brqm

Gordon (op. cit., Glossary, no. 1888) renders šrh by "to flash" drawing attention to Job. 37:3 תחת כל השמים ישרהו (Pope - Job (Anchor Bible) -- "Beneath the whole heaven it flashes"). Aisleitner (op. cit., no. 2685) translates "loslassen, schleudern", cognate to Acc. šeru.

In contrast to qôl, Ug. "g" (usually with √nš', less frequently with √ytn: cf. Aisleitner op. cit., no. 613) is restricted in its use to the speaking voice in "speech" "crying". and "shouting", without the theophanic extension. Cp. Heb. "nš' qôl" with similar limitation (e. g. Gen. 29:11; Ju. 9:7). Cf. also discussion of maśśa' below.

46. In view of the prior enumeration of nations as well as the variant in Ps. 108:11, we suggest the emendation: עירם צור - "the city, Tyre" - with m-encliticum (hinted at by H. J. Kraus, Psalmen I (Biblisches Kammentar, 1962) p. 430. Hummel, JBL 76 (1957) p. 97f, renders עירם צור : "city of the rock" basing himself on Ps. 108:11. But cf. immediately). Ps. 108:11 - עיר מבצר - may reflect a textual variant עירם (= בצרה) בָּצְרָה "the city, Bosrah", which makes a fine parallel with "Edom" in the following stichos. LXX reads in both cases - possible harmonization - πολιν περιοχης (= עיר מבצר). Neither Ps. 60 nor 108 is extant in the Psalter fragments (11Q Ps.^{A}: J. A. Sanders, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert IV, (1965) at Qumran.

47. Göttingen, 1905.

48. Psalmenstudien II, p. 229.

49. Ibid., p. 231.

50. Ibid., idem.

51. Cf. above, note 1; Theologie des Alten Testament II, pp. 136-7.

52. Origin... p. 107. Kaufmann (op. cit., p. 46) also allows that the eschatologizing of the yôm Yahwe concept is secondary.

53. von Rad, Der Heiliege Krieg im Altem Israel, pp. 25ff.

54. Origin..., p. 103. Similarly, already M. Weber, Ancient Judaism, p. 230.

55. Ibid., p. 103.

56. Cf. similarly Cross, op. cit., p. 12.

57. "Die israelitische Literatur" in Kultur der Gegenwart (1906), pp. 51-102; Einleitung zum Genesis-Kommentar^{3} (1910); Einleitung in die Psalmen (1928).

58. Einleitung in die Psalmen, p. 13.

59. Cf. K-H Bernhardt, Königsideologie... (VT Supplement VIII), p. 44.

60. For the sake of simplicity, we exclude the H-G interpretation of the Passover; cf. Cross, op. cit.

61. Actually we are dealing, according to this school, with variants of a single ancient Near Eastern pattern: cf. Myth, Ritual and Kingship. (S. H. Hooke, ed.,) Oxford: 1958; T. H. Gaster, Thespis (2nd rev. ed.), esp. pp. 17-18; Bernhardt, op. cit., pp. 79ff.

62. Bernhardt, op. cit., p. 80.

63. Ibid., pp. 184ff; Mowinckel, Ps. St. II, pp. 57ff speaks also of "der Vermenschlichung der Chaosungeheuer."

64. von Rad, Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs, (1938) (reprinted in Ges. Studien); H. J. Kraus, Gottesdient in Israel (2nd rev. ed., 1962), pp. 35-37.

65. Cf. von Rad, ibid., and his Studies in Deuteronomy (SCM: 1953); Noth, Uberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch; Das Buch Josua. The covenantal structure of this cult has received new emphasis following the discovery and re-discovery of ancient Near Eastern treaties: cf. D. J. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant (Rome: 1963) Baltzer, Das Bundesformular (1960); Mendenhall, Law and covenent. (The Biblical Colloqium: 1955). The earlier distinction of the H-G school between a Passover recitation of the H-G and a fall recitation of covenant - is nowunwarranted: cf. Cross, op. cit., p. 14.

66. Cf. Noth, History of Israel (2nd ed. 1960) p. 92, where the evidence for a "comparatively late" observance of the Shechem cult is the a priori assumption that "religious observances have a habit of preserving with great persistance not only their actual form but also their association with a particular place." von Rad (Studies in Deuteromony, pp. 60-69), argues for a 7th century revival of amphictyonic traditions under Josiah.

67. Cross, op. cit., p. 12.

68. Der Heilige Krieg, p. 54.

69. Ibid., idem.

70. The terms appear in the full title of Gunkel's Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (1895). Cf. also Mowinckel (op. cit., p. 229) who substitutes "cultic present" (kultische Vergegenwärtigung) for Endzeit, while acknowledging the role of Urzeit in the cult.

71. Theologie II, p. 137.

72. Ibid., Idem.

73. Cf. however, Ob. 21 and above, p. 47.

74. Origin... pp. 107-8.

75. von Rad apparently overlooked Deut. 32. Cf. above, note 2.

76. Cross, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

77. The notion of "cultic prophecy" has become almost axiomatic, though the nature and degree of its applicability to the ancient Israelite scene is still a matter of dispute: cf. conveniently H. H. Rowley, "Ritual and the Hebrew Prophets" in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, pp. 236-260. The evidence of the O. A. N. tradition bears considerably on this question which will be the main theme in our conclusion in this study. von Rad, I think, hit the mark when he describes 9th century prophecy as characterized by a vital interest in politics (Heilige Krieg, pp. 53f.) Cf. also G. E. Wright, in Israel's Prophetic Heritage (Muilenberg Festschrift) p. 63, n. 68; Encounter 26 (1965) pp. 133-141.

78. The unity of Am. 5:18-27 is defended by Harper (ICC, p. 129). Wellhausen (Kleine Propheten, p. 6) considers 5:18-6:14 a single composition.

79. The word "secular" is, of course, relative and should be taken simply as a "label". The term is used by von Rad, Heilige Krieg, pp. 24-5. According to P. W. Miller -- apud Cross, op. cit., p. 28 -- the Moslim Song represents a foreign Holy War poem.

80. Cf. below, "Massa" and "Begründung".

81. Cf. G. E. Wright, "Cult and History" (Interpretation 16 (1962) pp. 3-20 who suggests that the Davidic covenant came to replace the Sinai - Amphictyonic covenant until the time of Josiah. The problem is discussed at some length by H-J Kraus, Gottesdienst, pp. 222-234.

82. Cf. above, note 77 and "Conclusion" below.

83. OTS 8 (Cf. "Introduction", above). Cf. also Führer, "Prophetie und Magie", ZAW 78, pp. 40ff.

84. Mowinckel himself (The Psalms in Israel's Worship I, p. 154) follows Würthwein in concluding that "... such oracles did not belong to the festal ritual proper but that they mark extempore inspirations and improvisations of the cult prophet." The latter portion of this statement is untenable: the O. A. N., as we hope to make clear is nothing if not highly traditional and stereotyped language.

85. E. g. Fensham, Reventlow, and tentatively Hillers (cf. "Introduction".)

CHAPTER II - THE WAR-MOTIFS

I. "Fire", "Captivity", and "Exile"

A. Introduction

1. In the following four studies, we are concerned with the relationship between the O. A. N. and Mošlim traditions. Our present discussion of "war-motifs" will focus on the relationship with the Mošlim Song (Nu. 21:27ff) proper, whereas in those subsequent we shall broaden the treatment to cover other materials which may be considered part of an ancient Mošlim tradition.[1] An overall consideration and evaluation of the latter tradition and its significance will be undertaken at the conclusion of the final discussion in this series.

The objective in the present discussion is twofold:

(a) To point to the literary and ideological origins of the O. A. N. tradition.

(b) To illustrate and identify literary stereotypes and the stylistic "laws" and processes which govern their development. The significance of this aspect of our study may well extend beyond the confines of the O. A. N. tradition.

The conclusions that are expected to emerge are as follows:

(a) The Song of the Mošlim as a fragmentary proto-O. A. N. composition.

(b) Literary and stylistic evidence for regarding the O. A. N. composition as a single literary tradition developed over a period of many centuries.

(c) The existence of O. A. N. language and motifs in Israel-centered so-called "classical" prophecy as evidence for O. A. N. penetration and influence.

(d) The important role of literary stereotypes as criteria in determining both origins and development-characteristics of a literary tradition.

(e) The "laws" of "stereotype-breakdown" as a fundamental principle of stereotype-development.

2. "Fire" and "captivity" motifs account for three of the seven extant strophes of the Song of the Mošlim (Nu. 21:27ff):

21:28 כי אש יצאה מחשבון להבה מקרית סיחון
אכלה ער מואב בעלי במות ארנון

21:29^{b} נתן בניו פלטים ובנתיו בשבית

The war-background is unmistakable, even if a precise historical reconstruction is less easily arrived at.[2] Unlike the "fire" of theophany, there is nothing here of the cosmic and the supernatural. The merest suggestion of the non-pragmatic is furnished by the "personification" of the fire as a self-moved force, a feature to be attributed to poetic imagination. Otherwise the setting is entirely "realistic" including the use of concretely detailed localities and cities. The situation is much the same with the "captivity" motif: the phenomenon of "captivity" is a realistic consequence in any battle victory and especially affects the non-combatants: high-placed leaders, women and children.[3]

We turn now to the O. A. N. evidence of these two war-motifs, "fire" and "captivity". We shall be concerned initially with the treatment of the "fire-motif", using Amos 1 as our point of departure.

B. The fire-motif in the O. A. N.

1. The "fire-motif" is to be found in Amos 1:2-2:5 in each of the oracles addressed to the nations, including Judah,[4] in a manner so similar as to suggest the existence of a stereotype. A presumption in favor of such a verdict exists independently of the stylistic mechanics governing the expression of the motif, in view of the fact that:

(a) The "Motivation" (Begründung) portion of the oracles is introduced by a literary stereotype.[5]

(b) A similar expression of the fire-motif is found in an oracle ascribed to Amos' contemporary, Hosea.[6]

But the decisive evidence for the stereotyped character of the fire-motif in Amos' O. A. N. must be sought in terms of its stylistic expression.

1:4	ושלחתי אש בבית חזאל	ואכלה ארמנות בן הדד
1:7	ושלחתי אש בחומת עזה	ואכלה ארמנותיה
1:10	ושלחתי אש בחומת צר	ואכלה ארמנותיה
1:12	ושלחתי אש בתימן	ואכלה ארמנות בצרה
1:14	והצתי אש בחומת רבה	ואכלה ארמנותיה
2:2	ושלחתי אש במואב	ואכלה ארמנות הקריות
2:5	ושלחתי אש ביהודה	ואכלה ארמנות ירושלים

The first thing to be observed is the identity of structure: a synonymous-parallelism construction of two hemistichoi, with predicates introducing each hemistich and followed by the syntactical "object" designating the target of destruction.

While these structural features are common to all, a number of others characterize two or more. Thus, 1:7, 1:10, and 1:14 share a designation of the city-wall in a construct relationship in the first hemistich - in a pattern "wall of X" - and pronominal suffixes attached to the syntactical object in the second. 1:12, 2:2, and 2:5 share direct

reference to the city or country in the first hemistich, and a pattern "palaces of x" in the second. Finally, 1:4 stands alone as a combination of both structural patterns, with a construct-relationship in both hemistichoi.

Verse 1:4 is unique in still another respect: it alone makes mention of a dynasty rather than a city or country; its parallel use of בית and ארמנות makes it furthermore the most circumscribed in terms of area affected. 1:7, 1:10, and 1:14 is a slight enlargement to the entire city-area, while 1:12, 2:2 and 2:5 denote entire geographical regions. The significance of this latter observation is of some importance: for the history of this motif-stereotype's development evidences just such an area - expansion and is a valuable clue to determining the extent of stereotype breakdown.[7] Thus, from a stylistic standpoint, 1:4, 1:7, 1:10, and 1:14 would appear to represent the motif in its most highly stable or "original" form.

We turn now to "lexical" features, especially the phenomenon that we shall designate "stylistic variants". If we exclude the proper-name references, we have five lexical items, of which three are "constants", two are variants. The "constants" are ʾeš; √ʾakl; ʾarmenôt; the variants -- šlḥ/yṣt; ḥōmāh/bayt. Six of the seven predicates in the first hemistich represent identical forms of the √šlḥ; 1:14 forms a significant exception with its √yṣt. Finally, where a construct - relationship occurs in the first hemistich, we find - again with one exception - the term ḥōmāh; 1:4 is alone in its use of bayt.

The degree of constancy - both structural and lexical - that characterizes these seven expressions of the fire-motif is sufficient to establish their stereotyped character. The variations - especially those of a "lexical" nature - do serve however an important function, viz. to define the "limits" of "stereotypedness". The most highly - stereotyped expression may be said to co-exist with a number of stylistic variants, in which form it is transmitted in tradition.[8] Examples of such "primary" variants in Amos 1 are šlḥ and yṣt and possibly bayt and ḥōmāh: neither šlḥ nor yṣt can be seen as secondary developments accompanying the "breakdown" of the stereotype. As employed in Amos 1:14, √yṣt neither adds to nor detracts from the meaning of the expression, nor does it alter its structure: as such, it is a "primary variant." That it is "outnumbered" six-to-one in no way affects its status.

2. The question may now be put as to the nature of the relationship, if any, between the expressions of the fire-motif in Am. 1 and Nu. 21 respectively. Beginning with the similar, we note that both employ "fire" as a motif of destruction carried out against enemy cities, with the names of the cities employed in synonymous parallelism. In both we find the idiom of "consuming fire" (אש אוכלה). The stylistic differences are, however, no less considerable; indeed

they are sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the stereotyped expression of the motif - as distinct from the motif itself - in Amos 1 is not directly dependent on Nu. 21:28. This can be seen above all in the structural discrepancies. Nu. 21:28 is a bi-strophic construction as opposed to the unistrophic construction in Am. 1; compared with Nu. 21:28, Am. 1 appears as a case of "complementary" rather than "synonymous" parallelism. Am. 1 knows nothing of the אש - להבה parallelism,[9] of the double-pair of city-names, and - if the LXX reading for MT בעלי is to be accepted[10] -- √אכל and √בלע. Nor is initial predicate in Nu. 21:28 - √yṣ' -- attested in Am. 1.

All of which suggests that, in contrast with the inner discrepancies in Am. 1 itself, the differences between Nu. 21 and Am. 1 cannot be reduced to "stylistic variants." The two expressions are not reflexes of one and the same stereotype. On the other hand, it is virtually certain that Nu. 21:28 is the ultimate source of the fire-motif in Amos 1 and the O. A. N. generally; this conclusion seems warranted in the light of the totality of Mošlim - tradition influence in the O. A. N. and -- in the case of the "captivity-motif" -- the Mošlim Song specifically.[11]

The problem then becomes how to account for the fundamental differences -- stylistic and, as we shall shortly observe, literary-ideological -- between Nu. 21 and Am. 1 ?

First, as concerns the stylistic differences: it is to be recalled that a historical distance in terms of centuries separates the two compositions. This fact allows for the possibility that the expression of the fire-motif in Nu. 21 may have undergone a considerable pre-stereotyped development prior to its having found its way in stereotyped form into the O. A. N. tradition.

Such is the picture suggested by Ju. 9:15:

תצא אש מן האטד ותאכל את ארזי הלבנון

This passage occurs as part of Jotham's fable which in turn must be considered much older than the overall narrative framework - likely deuteronomistic - in which it is set.[12] Its significance for our purpose is to be seen in its stylistic relationship to the motif - stereotype under discussion. When allowance is made for the distinct setting, the similarities are quite striking.

Nu. 21:28	כי אש יצאה...	להבה מ- ...
	אכלה ...	בלעה (?) ...
Ju. 9:15	תצא אש מן ...	ותאכל ...
Am. 1	ושלחתי (הצחי) אש ...	ואכלה ...

Even if we could not be certain that Ju. 9:15 is to be fixed chronologically between Nu. 21 and Am. 1, we should be inclined to assign it an intermediary position on stylistic grounds. In its unistrophic form it is already

beginning to approximate Amos 1; on the other hand its use of √yṣ' as predicate places it closer to Nu. 21:28. Moreover, like Nu. 21:28, the "fire" is here a self-moved force. To this should be added the notice that the motif recurs in the "nimšal" - portion - as follows:

9:20 תצא אש מאבימלך ותאכל את בעלי שכם

Cp. Nu. 21:28 ... בעלי במות ארנון

In sum, the evidence of Ju. 9:15ff suggests: (a) a literary development of the fire-motif in Nu. 21, a development principally in the direction of unistrophization; (b) the emergence of a stereotyped version of this motif in the interval between Ju. 9:7ff and Am. 1.[13]

The differences between Amos 1 and Nu. 21 involve in the final analysis more than stylistic evolution: forces of a traditionsgeschichtliche character, absent from Nu. 21, make themselves felt in Amos 1. Essentially these are the Y. Y. (or Holy War) tradition and the prophetic ideology.

In Nu. 21:22 there is no literary evidence of a divine agency at work: the "fire", as previously observed, is a "self-moved" force. There is, furthermore, no explicit mention of "Israel" nor an implicit pro-Israel orientation: the setting and focus are entirely "foreign". In short, the song is "secular"[14] and "realistic".

The motif in Am. 1 reflects a significantly different picture. In a previous discussion, we pointed to the Y. Y. - Holy War influence represented by the theophany introduction. This influence finds its expression in our motif in the first-person reference to the Divine in the initial predicate and the overtones of divine-warrior activity that it suggests. Though no explicit mention is made of "Israel", the pro-Israel orientation can be inferred from the fact that the destruction-by-fire is directed to Israel's historical enemies. Finally, "prophetic" influence, which elsewhere in Am. 1 makes itself felt in the opening Botenformel,[15] accounts for the perfect - with - waw consecutive form characteristic of both predicates in the expression.

Still, none of these influences, whether Holy War or prophetic, have succeeded in erasing the "realistic" stamp which the fire-motif in Am. 1 shares with its prototype: the concretely - detailed references to "walls", "palaces" and cities and nations contrast sharply with the cosmic and supernatural background of Holy War tradition.

3. The post-Amos 1 development:

(i) Amos 3:9, 4:3

As auxiliary support for the stereotyped character of the fire-motif in Amos 1 one may cite its influence in the remainder of the book. The first example to be cited suggests perhaps no more than the author's own fondness

for the expression; its value for our study, however, is to establish the existence of the influence alleged. The second example is less certain as a case of such influence; if we are right, however, -- and the weight of the first example is sufficient to suggest its possibility -- then we would maintain as proven not merely the author's fondness for the expression, but additionally his audience's complete familiarity with it; in brief, a stereotype of widespread currency among the people.

Amos 3:9 השמיעו על ארמנות באשדוד
ועל ארמנות בארץ מצרים

This passage immediately brings to mind the second hemistich of the expression: ואכלה ארמנות , followed by the designation of a foreign city or state. We should further observe as noteworthy the absence of "Egypt" -- in addition to states in the Euphrates region -- in the O. A. N. collection, suggesting, however lightly, that the latter stems from a different historical period. The combination of a Philistine city with "Egypt" in this passage is possible evidence for a Philistine - Egyptian tie-up at this period.[16]

The literary phenomenon of partial quotation that confronts us in this passage will be more extensively discussed in the "captivity-motif".

Amos 4:3 ופרצים תצאנה אשה נגדה
והשלכתנה הרמונה

This passage is a notorious crux interpretum.[17] It may seem presumptuous to suggest a literary parallel without having first resolved the exegetical problems. But the difficulty of precise meaning does not detract from the striking paranomasian relationship that exists between it and the fire-stereotype. Thus: with תצאנה אשה we can compare והצחי אש and - more strikingly still - תצא אש (Ju. 9:15), אש יצאה (Nu. 21:28). With והשלכתנה הרמונה we might compare ושלחתי... ארמנות and even ואכלה ארמנותיה . The uncertainty of the text makes it difficult to interpret the precise significance of this paranomasian tour de force. Unless the text has been damaged beyond all recognition, we can be reasonably certain that such a tour de force was intended, in which case we should have to assume that the audience was very familiar with the original and hence in a position to appreciate the effort.

(ii) Jer. 49:27

והצחי אש בחומת דמשק
ואכלה ארמנות בן הדד

So close is this passage with the Amos 1 stereotype that one is tempted to conclude that it represents a verbatim reproduction, in the manner perhaps of Is. 2:1ff, Mic. 4:1ff. Yet such is not the case. The version of the stereotype that occurs in the Amos 1 oracle against Aram reads as follows: (1:4)

ושלחתי אש בבית חזאל
ואכלה ארמנות בן הדד

It is immediately seen that while the second hemistichoi are respectively identical, the first are not. In Jer. we find the √yṣt for √šlḥ, ḥōmāh for bayt, and dameśeq for bet ḥaza'el. In short, the pattern of the first hemistich in Jer. follows that of 1:7, 1:10, and 1:14, while in all respects, Jer. 49:27 follows none. On the other hand, there is not a single item in Jer. 49:27 which is not attested in one or more of the Amos 1 expressions. Our hypothesis with regard to the nature of stereotypes would appear to be confirmed: the emergence of a literary stereotype is accompanied by the simultaneous emergency of primary variants, the use of which will produce a certain degree of stereotype - variation of a minimal or maximal nature, which variants accompany the stereotype in the process of transmission. Jer. 49:27 can thus be seen as a faithful witness to the Am. 1 stereotype despite the fact that it is identical with no single expression of this stereotype in Am. 1.

Still another conclusion suggests itself on the basis of the foregoing: stylistic development and historical development are not necessarily correlative. To be sure, it is generally the case that the lapse of time will generally effect some change in a stereotype in the direction of "breakdown"; yet, as Jer. 49:27 attests this is not necessarily the case.[18]

(iii) Hos. 8:14 ושלחתי אש בעריו ואכלה ארמנותיה

Jer. 17:27 והצתי אש בשעריה ואכלה ארמנות ירושלי

The above-cited examples are quite clearly versions of the fire-motif stereotype. Their common ground lies in their attestation to variants which, while not found in Am. 1 may yet represent "primary variants". If the author of Hos. 8:14 is Hosea himself[19] then it is surely strong evidence for the stereotyped status of the expression by the mid-8th century. The second hemistich is identical with Am. 1:7, 1:10, and 1:14. The use of √šlḥ is similarly normative in Am. 1. The sole discrepancy is the term "cities", unattested in Am. 1. In the latter we find "palaces" and "walls" in a partes pro toto significance, references to entire cities by name and on three occasions (including the "Judah oracle") to regions or countries (1:12, 2:2). Thus in terms of Am. 1:2-2:5, "cities" in Hos. 8:14 may be seen as a primary variant. It was, however, remarked above that within Amos 1:2-2:5 there is to be found an expansion of focus' beyond the city limits, as seen in 1:2, and 2:5, and that this might conceivably be interpreted as incipient stylistic breakdown. In this light, the reference to "cities" might similarly be construed as incipient stylistic breakdown.

This equivocation does not apply to Jer. 17:27. In terms of nation-referent, this passage corresponds to Am. 2:5.[20] The discrepancy occurs, as in the case of Hos. 8:14, in the third element, viz. שעריה. The pronominal suffix, though unattested in the initial hemistichoi in Am. 1 is found attached to ארמנות in 1:7, 1:10, and 1:14, as

well as in Hos. 8:14. The term "šʿr" is a more substantial variant: yet the fact that

(a) Am. 1 itself knows of variation between hōmāh and bayt in the same position and

(b) that "šʿr" is virtually identical with ḥōmāh

makes it a reasonable certainty that šʿr is to be accorded a status as a primary variant.

(iv) Jer. 21:14 והצתי אש ביערה ואכלה כל סביביה

50:32(MT) והצתי אש בעריו ואכלה כל סביבותיו

A significantly different situation presents itself in the above passages.[21] In 21:14, the object of fire-destruction is no longer the city or portions thereof, but rather the "forest", lying beyond the confines of human settlement. The variant yʿr brings in its wake still another variant, √sbb, which grammatically can only refer to the activity of the fire which burns "all around". The influence of the original can still be recognized in the first, second, and fourth elements, while the choice of סביביה -- as opposed to סביבותיו in 50:32 -- preserves the phonetic ring of the original: ארמנותיה.

There can be no doubt that we are dealing with secondary variants in yʿr[22] and √sbb, Not only has the frame-of-reference shifted, but the use of √sbb represents a change in meaning when compared with the

original. The degree of "breakdown" represented by these alterations still qualify as minimal since structurally the stereotype is still intact.

In the case of 50:32, it should first be observed that the LXX has σφαγὴν αὐτῆς (= יערה) , clearly the correct reading in view of the 3m. s. suffix attached to √sbb. The form in MT may be explained as a metathesis with possible influence from Hos. 8:14. Even if correct, MT 50:32 shows a stylistic dependence on 21:14. The √sbb arises once the substitution of y'r takes place and is unlikely to have arisen in parallelism with "city", since the outskirts of the city are more commonly designated "bānôth".

Another case of secondary variation with minimal breakdown is provided by Lam. 4:11: ויצת אש בציון ותאכל יסדתיה
This is not the sole instance of O. A. N. influence in Lamentations.[23] The variations are two in number: the morphological changes in √yṣt from 1 p. to 3 p., "prophetic" perfect to imperfect, and the use of √ysd in final position. The second and fourth members are intact with a residual influence apparent in the suffixed pronoun and final vowel sequence.

No argumentation, it would seem, is necessary to substantiate the determination of the form of √yṣt as secondary. More problematic is the term יסדתיה. From a purely stylistic standpoint, it might qualify as a primary variant; like ארמנותיה , it refers to the interior of the city and is conceptually not far removed from it. That its date is

some two centuries later than Amos 1, cannot be used as a criterion in view of what we observed in the case of Jer. 49:27. Still, the secondary character of this term is not seriously in doubt. For one, the final term ארמנותיה is -- along with the "fire" itself -- one of the most stable elements in the expression. There are no variants of it in Amos 1 and it does not succumb to substitution until a certain amount of breakdown has resulted via the substitution of its counterpart in the first hemistich.[24] The reason for יסדתיה is probably to be sought outside the O. A. N. tradition, in the author's eye-witness relation to the events which he describes.[25]

The development traced thus far may be represented diagramatically as follows:

		"PRIMARY"	"SECONDARY"
Hemistich 1	PREDICATE	והצתי, ושלחתי	
	OBJECT	א ש	
	IND. OBJ.	חומת/בית/שער (x*) ; x* ; עיר (?)	עיר (?), יער
Hemistich 2	PREDICATE	ואכלה	
	OBJECT	ארמנות (x*)	סבב, יסודות (x*)

* = name of city, region, or country

The series of examples to be examined in the remainder of this discussion carry the development still further. Here we shall encounter instances of what may be called "maximal stereotype breakdown", i. e. not merely the variation of elements but their disappearance, with corresponding structural disintegration.

(vi): Ez. 30:8 בתתי אש במצרים ונשברו על עזריה
30:14(16) ונתתי אש בצען ועשיתי שפטים בנא
39:6 ושלחתי אש במגוג ובישבי האיים לבטח

The principle of stereotype-breakdown -- of maximal degree -- is well illustrated in the afore-cited Ezekiel passages. The first hemistich is still intact: indeed, in 39:6 we find the primary variant √šlḥ. The secondary character of √ntn in 30:8, 14(16) is discerned with difficulty, yet its stylistic usage in Ez. 25 - where most of that prophet's traditional O. A. N. material is preserved - makes such a determination certain.[26]

In the second hemistich, on the other hand, little or nothing remains of the original: the fire - motif is stylistically discontinued. There is no sign of "palaces" or any variants, whether primary or secondary. At most one can point in 30:8 to a residual phonetic influence in עזריה . The use of √šbr may be connected with Jer. 51:30 -- cf. immediately below - where we find a similar juxtaposition of "fire"

and √šbr in a broken - stereotype condition. The complementary expression in 30:14(16) -- √ʾśh šᵉpātîm -- is a favorite of Ezechiel's[27] and has its origin in the portions of the Exodus account (Ex. 12:12, Nu. 33:4) commonly assigned to P.[28]

A similar type of breakdown presents itself in Jer. 43:12:

והצתי אש בבתי אלהי מצרים ושרפם ושבם

The passage, though not part of the formal O. A. N. collection, is nonetheless concerned with a foreign nation.[29] Here, as in the Ezechiel passages, we find the first half of the stereotype more or less intact. The major deviations occur in the second hemistich, deviations at once more and less drastic than those observed in Ezechiel. The fire-parallelism is preserved but the structural disintegration is such as to reduce the cadence from a trimeter to a dimeter.

The variation in the initial hemistich, though slight from a structural and stylistic standpoint, is nonetheless of ideological significance. In Am. 1:4 the term bayt denotes the royal residence; in Jer. 43:12 the addition of ʾelohē has transformed the connotation of this term to "temple". This is to be seen as evidence for a theological Tendenz, discernible elsewhere in Jeremiah's O. A. N.,[30] and characteristic of the tradition generally in its late stages of development.

(vii) Jer. 49:2, 51:30

In a number of passages in Jer's O. A. N., "breakdown" has reached such proportions that we are hard put to identify it as a reflex of our stereotype.

49:2 (והיתה לתל שממה)
ובנותיה באש תצתנה

51:30 הציתו משכנותיה
נשברו בריחיה

It is only via literary evidence of a non-stylistic nature that we can make a positive identification with the fire-stereotype. Jer. 49:1ff is an oracle directed against Ammon. Immediately preceding the fire-motif in 49:2 we read:

והשמעתי אל רבת בני עמון תרועת מלחמה

clearly a paraphrase of part of the anti-Ammon oracle in Am. 1:14:

... בתרועה ביום מלחמה

The liklihood accordingly that the fire-motif in 49:2 derives from the same source is exceedingly great.

We would maintain that Jer. 49:2 is an end-product of two stylistic processes. Structurally it presupposes a contraction of the original two hemistichoi;[31] stylistically, it evidences a degree of secondary variation. The contraction prior to variation may have been: וארמנותיה באש תצתנה*

The change in predicate-morphology is a necessary consequence of the conversion via contraction of "palaces" from "object" to "subject". The next stage would see the stylistic substitution of the secondary variant √b(n)t-- akin to √sbb in 50:32 -- for "palaces".[32]

In the case of 51:30, we are similarly thrown back on literary context to establish connection. The connection is provided by: נשברו בריחה traceable to Am. 1:5: ושברתי בריח דמשק, where it similarly follows the fire-motif. A related situation is Nah. 3:13 -- אכלה אש ברחיך -- where a similar combination[33] of the "fire" and √šbr motifs has taken place.

Structurally, Jer. 51:30 represents a most fragmentary survival. The combination of √yšt and √brḥ -- if the latter is stylistically related to "palaces" -- could be evidence for the process of contraction postulated for Jer. 49:2.

4. This brings our discussion of the fire-motif in the O. A. N. to a close. We attempted to trace the development of a stereotyped expression of this motif and to analyze this development in terms of stylistic processes. It was observed that while no necessary connection exists between the historical and the stylistic, reflexes at a remove in time from the stereotyped original generally evidenced varying degrees of secondary variation and structural breakdown.

As to the origins of this motif, we suggested the Song of the Mošlim (Nu. 21:27ff) where a fire-motif is much in evidence. Compared however with the earliest literary witness for the O. A. N. stereotype -- Amos 1 -- significant differences were noted, suggesting that the Mošlim Song, while furnishing the motif itself, in effect represents a pre-stereotyped phase of the motif.

In the discussion of the "captivity-motif" that follows, the relation between the Mošlim Song and the O. A. N. tradition will be observed as still more intimate. Unlike the situation with regard to the fire-motif, moreover, the expression of the "captivity-motif" in Nu. 21:27ff will be seen to represent the motif in a stereotyped form, at least in relation to its O. A. N. expression.

Yet in certain respects, the "captivity-motif" constitutes a more complicated problem than that posed by the fire-motif. This is due pre-eminently to the emergence within the O. A. N. tradition of an "exile-motif" with close stylistic resemblance to that of "captivity". Considerable effort will be expended in attempting to unravel the relationship between the two motifs in terms both of their stylistic expression and their literary origins. We shall submit as a conclusion that the motif of "exile" -- while originating outside literary tradition as a response to changing historical conditions -- ultimately enters the stream of O. A. N. literary tradition as the successor to and/or synonymous parallel of the "captivity-motif".

C. The "captivity-motif"

1. The expression of this motif in Nu. 21:29 has earlier been cited.[34] The expression, it will be recalled, is composed of two hemistichoi, and describes the fate of the children - male and female - of the side defeated in battle: the sons as "refugees" (פלטים), the daughters as "war-captives" (בשבית). Strictly speaking, the fate of "captivity" is delimited to the "daughters".

The clearest O. A. N. instance of the motif in its Mošlim expression is found in Jer. 48:46:

כי לקחו בניך בשבי ובנתיך בשביה

The Mošlim origins of this passage is rendered certain by the preceding strophe -- אוי לך מואב אבד עם כמוש -- in what is an almost verbatim repetition of the similarly preceding strophe in Nu. 21:29: אוי לך מואב אבדת עם כמוש

It is precisely the assured origin of the "captivity-motif" in Jer. 48:46 that makes its stylistic expression so interesting. It provides us with a classic instance of stereotype - breakdown. The second hemistich is essentially identical: the variants שביה and שבית are at most orthographic variants only.[35] The discrepancies in the

first hemistich are, by contrast, considerable: nothing remains of the original נתן בניו פלטים except the second term "sons". Where the fate of the "sons" in Nu. 21 is at least stylistically distinct from that of the daughters, in Jer. both go into captivity. There is little reason to doubt that the "harmonization" in Jer. 48 is a secondary development, a product of stereotype breakdown. Less certain is the reason for this process affecting the first hemistich: that there may be a reason behind this is suggested by the fact that in all the reflexes of this stereotype to be examined, the same loss - in part or in toto - of the first hemistich is to be observed. The answer may lie in the evolution of the term √plṭ which seems to have developed a positive connotation as designating a "survivor".[36]

A second O. A. N. reflex is found in Ez. 30:18:[37]

ונשבת בה גאון עזה
היא ענן יכסנה
ובנותיה בשבי תלכנה

Like Jer. 48:46, it is the second hemistich that has survived; unlike the Jeremiah passage, however, no attempt has been made at secondary variation in the phrases corresponding to the first hemistich, unless it be in the first strophe: ונשבת בה גאון עזה, with √שבת intended as a paranomasian play on שביה.

Stereotype breakdown has furthermore affected even the second hemistich in Ez. 30:18. The Nu. and Jer. passages are one in not predicating a verb of בנות ; Ez., on the other hand, in conjunction with a number of other passages to be cited presently, furnishes the √hlk. Now it is readily conceded the combination of √hlk and √šby is fine idiomatic Hebrew,[38] hence hardly a matter of special interest in the passage at hand. There is, however, another possibility, one that will emerge more clearly once we have dealt with the motif of "exile", viz. that the addition of √hlk stems from an inner development within the O. A. N. tradition which culminates in the fusion of "exile" and "captivity" motifs. The prima facie evidence for this possibility is the occurrence of the same secondary variation -- √hlk -- in two additional contexts, one of them (Nah. 3:10) O. A. N., the other (Isa. 46:2) dealing with foreign deities, i. e., both in all likelihood reflexes of the expression under discussion. More detailed evidence requires that we now turn to an examination of Amos 1 and the "exile" motif.

2. There is no unmistakable evidence for the "captivity" stereotype or motif in Am. 1. This is all the more puzzling in view of:

(a) The presence of the Mošlim - inspired fire motif
(b) The overall war-setting of the oracles.

On the other hand, one does find in Amos 1 considerable evidence of an "exile" motif incorporated into both Begründung and Ankündigung portions of the various oracles. We find a seemingly stereotyped expression -- גלות שלמה -- in 1:6 and 1:9;[39] Aram is threatened with exile in 1:5; the kings and officers of Ammon are destined for a similar fate (1:15).

It is the latter statement of this motif (1:15) that we should especially consider:

והלך מלכם בגולה הוא ושריו יחדו

The phrase is made up of two distinct idioms:

(a) מלך ושרים[40]

(b) √hlk baggolāh

The first idiom designates what may be termed "corporate leadership". A comparison with a number of Hosea passages makes it clear that the idiom does not originate with Amos but is a stereotyped idiom - probably a technical term - no later than the mid 8th century.

Hos. 3:4 אין מלך ואין שר

7:5 יום מלכנו החלו שרים

8:10 ממשא מלך שרים

It is possibly significant that, in 8:10, the idiom is combined with a typical O. A. N. designation, משא .[41]

With regard to the second idiom the situation is less clear. First, there are no discernible prototypes or literary origins: the motif of "exile" is unknown to Nu. 21. The √glh in its connotation of "exile" is unknown in any O. T. source which can be dated with certainty earlier than the 8th century. Secondly, it would seem to presuppose a knowledge of Assyrian foreign policy, a policy which was hardly older than Amos himself.[42] An attempt to see in this idiom a stylistic connection with the "captivity" motif in terms of the predicate √hlk - i. e. a reflex of √hlk baššebî - encounters the difficulty that the predicate √hlk is one of two used idiomaticaly with gôlah to denote the "going into exile".[43] Still the temptation to link the expression of the exile-motif in 1:15 with that of "captivity" in Nu. 21 is considerable. Two of the a priori considerations have been stated previously.[44] A third is the obvious conceptual affinity of the two motifs: both deal with the fate of a people defeated in battle, even if the principals involved are not identical.[45] A further consideration is that galût is elsewhere employed in Amos 1 in what is clearly its non-Assyrian connotation of "exile",[46] while the predicate √sgr suggests the deliverance of war-captives, presumably to be sold as slaves.[47]

Still, it is freely admitted that none of these considerations are decisive in establishing a connection between the two motifs. This much, however, is certain: the post-Amos O. A. N. tradition did make this connection.

First to be considered is Nah. 3:10:

גם היא לגלה בשבי הלכה

The prophecy as a whole is directed towards Nineveh, the Assyrian capital from the beginning of the 7th century. Verses 8ff refer, however, to the fate of Egypt during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashur-banipal (680-633) when the former came under direct Assyrian control.[48] This explains the use of √glh since "exile" was an Assyrian instrument of foreign policy par excellence.

From a stylistic standpoint, it will be observed:

(a) that "captivity" is equated with "exile".

(b) that √hlk is made to serve double-duty as predicate for √glh and √šby.

Having previously established the penetration of the Mošlim captivity-motif into the O. A. N., it is reasonable to assume in Nah. 3:10 -- representing as it does a foreign oracle -- a reflex of this same motif. On the other hand, the most likely source of the exile-motif is Am. 1. Original to Nahum, however, is the stylistic fusion of the two, a fusion which results in the predication by √hlk -- originally connected with √glh if the source is Amos 1 -- of the captivity motif.

Nah. 3:10 sets the stage for a number of later developments. First, the use of √hlk in connection with the captivity-motif. We have already pointed to Ez. 30:18.[49] A similar case is provided by Isa. 46:2:

... ונפשם בשבי הלכה

The context in which this passage finds its setting is an attack on the deities of Babylon. Though not part of an O. A. N. collection, it corresponds to a late O. A. N. development which begins to feature attacks on the gods of nations as part of a theological Tendenz.[50] Additional O. A. N. influence may be seen in the immediately preceding strophe in the term משא .[51] But most important of all: the pronouncement of punishment via captivity or exile against foreign national gods is directly traceable to the O. A. N. tradition. The Deutero-Isaiah passage under discussion has as its immediate prototypes Jer. 48:46 - the "captivity-motif" -- and Jer. 49:3, the latter going back to Am. 1:15.

The possible Mošlim origins of Am. 1:15 and the fusion of "exile" and "captivity" in Nah. 3:10 are not the only points of interest connected with the exile-motif in the O. A. N. There is the emergence of Am. 1:15 itself as a literary stereotype, as evidenced by the following:

Jer. 48:7 ויצא כמוש בגולה כהניו ושריו יחדו

49:3(MT) כי מַלְכָּם בגולה ילך כהניו ושריו יחדו

Am. 1:15 והלך מלכם בגולה הוא ושריו יחדו

There can be no doubt that the Jer. passages are ultimately dependent on Am. 1:15; what remains to be determined is the nature and significance of this dependence.

The first point to be noted is that the Jer. passages employ the two idiomatic predicates with √glh viz. √hlk and √yṣ'. A priori we should regard both as primary variants. Yet it will be observed that the √hlk figures in that passage (49:3) where the verbal - though not the structural - resemblance to Am. 1:15 is strongest: note the consonantally identical subjects מלכם .[52] To this might be added the notice that the references in Am. 1:15 and Jer. 49:3 are both to Ammon. All of which suggests that √yṣ' is a secondary variant in relation to Am. 1:15.

But the most striking difference between the Jer. and Amos passages lies elsewhere. In Am. 1:15, the subject is the idiomatic מלך ושרים ; in Jer. 48:7, 49:3 the "officers" are accompanied by "priests". The reason for this expansion in Jer. is not far to seek: the "king" in Am. 1:15 has been replaced by the national god in Jeremiah. This substitution is transparantly evident in 48:7; it is obscured by the massoretic "pointing" in 49:3, but is confirmed by the LXX reading μελχολ, an inner-Greek corruption of the Ammonite national god.[53]

The significance of this substitution is more than stylistic; it reflects the Tendenz noted previously, a Tendenz which seeks to "moralize" and "theologize" the generally and traditionally "political" orientation and concern of the O. A. N. tradition. Secondarily, the Jer. passages establish Isa. 46:2 as evidence bearing on our discussion.

Like Jer. 48:7, 49:3, the punishment in Isa. 46:2 is directed against national gods. The fact that the latter speaks of "captivity" rather than "exile" may now be discounted for purposes of identifying the literary tradition behind it, since after Nah. 3:10 the distinction between the two has been lost. Stylistically evaluated, Isa. 46:2 thus appears as a fusion of the two motifs: the terms √hlk and napšām would appear to be residues of the exile-motif, the latter possibly a phonetic reflex of malkām in Am. 1:15, while the reference to šebî echoes the "captivity motif" whose origins go back ultimately to Nu. 21.

We should like to consider a final development of the exile-captivity interchange. Before doing so, however, it may be useful to recapitulate briefly.

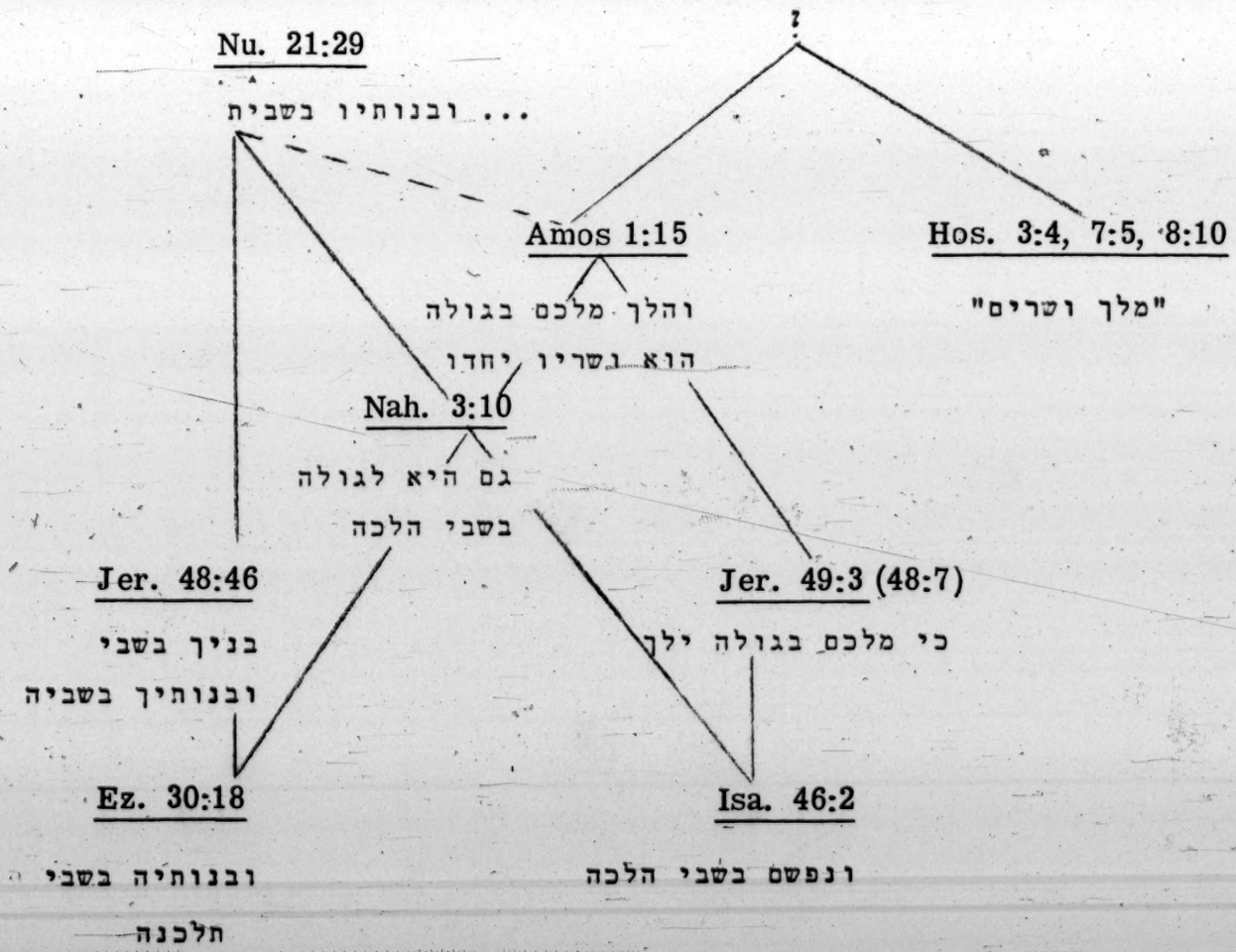
It is submitted that the source of the "captivity" motif in the O. A. N. is ultimately Nu. 21:27ff. Directly dependent on the Mošlim expression of this motif are Jer. 48:46 and, in part, Ez. 30:18 and Isa. 46:2.

A parallel motif - "exile" - makes its first O. A. N. appearance in Am. 1. Though the matter cannot be established with certitude, it is not unlikely that it stems from the "captivity" motif, stylistically if not conceptually. In the post-Amos period, the "exile" motif undergoes a two-faceted development:

(a) it fuses with the "captivity" motif (Nah. 3:10; in part, Ez. 30:18, Isa. 46:2)

(b) in its Am. 1:15 formulation, it enters the stream of O. A. N. tradition as an independent literary stereotype. (Jer. 48:7, 49:3).

The biblical texts which in their mutual inter-relationships carry the weight of these conclusions may be diagramatically represented as follows:



A final development featuring the "captivity" and "exile" motifs constitutes further evidence for their stylistic and conceptual identity. This development may be designated the "return motif", a motif which finds its stereotyped expression in √šwb šᵉbût, with šᵉbût[54] identical in meaning with gālût.

Jer. 48:47	ושבתי שבות מואב באחרית הימים
49:6	ואחרי-כן אשיב את שבות בני עמון
49:39	והיה באחרית הימים אשיב את שבות עילם
Ez. 29:14	ושבתי את שבות מצרים

Paranomasian intent is obvious in the expression. But behind the stylistic lies a semantic equation of galût and šᵉbû/ît.[55]

A parallel idea - minus the idiom šwb šᵉbût - occurs in Isa. 23:15, 17; Jer. 25:10-11; and in Israel-centered oracle, Jer. 29:10.[56]

Despite the likelihood that the "return-motif" represents a "late" development of the "exile" and "captivity" motifs --it presupposes a combination along the lines of Nah. 3:10 and their eventual synonymity -- it is nonetheless a puzzling phenomenon. It is unique as the sole instance of a Heil-motif in the O. A. N. tradition, of a "show of mercy" towards the nations. Nor is any "reason" provided for mitigating the severity of the sentence pronounced:

Ez. 29:14-15 -- "and they shall be there a lowly kingdom...neither shall it any more lift itself up above the nations" -- is less an explanation of cause (Begründung) than a description of effect.

Given the silence of the sources, any attempt at explanation must remain in the realm of hypothesis. That the motif is a relatively late phenomenon seems clear enough. An important inference can moreover be drawn from the fact that the motif is not connected with a specific act of goodness by a given nation towards Israel, [57] but like Heil prophecies uttered for Israel, would seem to be dependent on divine "grace". [58]

Now the basis of Divine grace towards Israel is today recognized as residing in the conception of a suzerain - vassal relationship, with "grace" manifesting itself in terms of the suzerain's offer of "covenant" and guarantees for the security of the vassal, subject to the condition of vassal obedience. [59] It is submitted that a similar idea of "covenantal grace" underlies the motif of "the return".

In Zech. 11:10 we read:

להפר את בריתי אשר כרתי את כל העמים

It is not clear what the nature of the "covenant with the nations" may have been nor the conditions which it specified, except that the prophecy of doom in the preceding verse signifies its nullification. [60] But if we are correct in viewing the "return-motif" as prompted by "covenantal

grace" shown the vassal nations by the suzerain deity, then the general character of this "grace" may be determined. The more or less temporary character of nation-exile signified by the "return"-motif bespeaks a belief in a divinely-ordained world order consisting of a humanity divided into national or ethnic entities with more or less fixed geographical bounderies. The idea is found already in Deut. 32:8 -

61

בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם
יצב גבולות עמים למספר בני ישראל

and is implicit in the "table of nations" in Gen. 10.[62] Its penetration of the O. A. N. tradition may be seen as part of the growing moral-theological concern which the tradition evidences in its later stages of development.

NOTES

1. Cf. Introduction above.

2. It is generally conceded that the Mošlim Song represents a fragmentary survival of an ancient war poem. Such disagreement as there is centers on the question of authorship, whether it be "Amorite" or "Israelite". Proponents of the "Amorite hypothesis" are Van Zyl (The Moabites, pp. 8-10) Eissfeldt (The O. T.: An Introduction: trans. P. R. Akroyd (1965), p. 93), D. N. Freedman, ZAW 72 (1960), p. 106; also, Edelkoort, Jirku, Maisler (Mazar) - Cf. W. Rudolph, Der Elohist (1938), pp. 94ff; of the Israelite hypothesis: Rudolph, Ewald, Noth (cf. Van Zyl, op. cit., p. 8).

A serious difficulty confronting the Amorite hypothesis is the gloating over the destruction of Heshbon, (vss. 27, 30) which is identified as an Amorite city (vs. 27). In any event, the Song whether Israelite or Amorite is no later than the 13th century. Not only does the Amorite kingdom disappear henceforth, but the area of Heshbon is destined to pass into Ammonite hands (cf. Jer. 49:1). The latter rules out the 9th century Israel-Moab confrontation as the historical setting (so Meyer, Wellhausen, Mowinckel: cf. Rudolph, op. cit.) The city of Heshbon is absent from the list of cities in the Mesha Inscription, a period when Moab was at its peak. Accordingly, when we find references to Heshbon as "Moabite" in Isa. xv-xvi we can only conclude that the author has preserved reminiscences of the pre-Amorite period (cf. Nu. 21:26 and Diman-Haran, op. cit.) when the "first king of Moab" may well have controlled Heshbon.

3. Cf. Deut. 20:10ff and further, below, p.102ff.

4. It does not materially affect our analysis whether the Judah oracle is "authentic" or, for that matter, if the Phoenician and Edomite oracles are similarly "inauthentic". (cf. e.g. G. Föhrer, ZAW 78 (1966) p. 41); Clements, Prophecy and Covenant (SCM Press: 1965, p. 43, no. 3); Harper, ICC, pp. 28, 31.) Still I am not convinced by the arguments that are marshalled to support these positions especially with regard to the Phoenicia-Edom oracles. One is inclined to ask after each argument (cf. e.g. IB, p. 785; ICC, p. 28): why should the alleged interpolator(s) be capable of doing what Amos allegedly could not have done? There are, moreover, no anarchronisms, no self-contradictions, indeed no serious implausibilities which rule out Amosian authorship of these oracles.

5. על שלושה ועל ארבעה, of "wisdom" and ultimately Canaanite origin: cf. below Begründung; G. Sauer, Die Sprüche Agurs (BWANT 5) (1963), pp. 87ff.

6. 8:14 cf. below, p. 92.

7. Cf. immediately below.

8. The reason for this phenomenon is not hard to find. It stems from the poetic requirements of parallelismus membrorum and the resulting tendency towards formation of stylistic synonyms. A similar situation exists in the Ugaritic epic literature (e.g. UM 51:VI:26ff) where √šyt išt is for all intents and purposes identical with √ʾiḫl išt. Cf. S. Loewenstamm, IEJ 15 (1965), pp. 121-133.

9. Cp. however the above-cited Ug. passage where nblt occurs in syn. parallelism with ʾišt.

10. Cf. BH^3 ad loc., Tur-Sinai, Miqrā kippšūtô I, pp. 170-1 where the LXX reading is accepted. The use of baʿalē in a fire motif usage - possibly dependent on Nu. 21:28 - is attested in Ju. 9:15. Cf. further below, p. 88.

11. Cf. part (2) below and the subsequent three discussions.

12. The deuteronomistic framework of Judges is generally conceded: cf. e.g. M. Noth, Uberlieferungeschichtliche Studien (1948), pp. 47ff. S. R. Driver, Introduction...pp. 163-168. Y. Kaufmann (Sēfer Šoftîm (1962), p. 23) concedes only stylistic parallels with Deuteronomy but denies that these are "deuteronomistic", i.e. post - 621 B.C.E. The defenders of the deuteronomistic hypothesis allow for "a pre-Deuteronomic collection of histories of Judges" (Driver, op. cit., p. 168). The relative antiquity of Jotham's fable is generally deduced from the "incongruence" of certain elements of the mašal and intended nimšal (cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., p. 199f). N. H. Snaith ("The Historical Books" in the Old Testament and Modern Study (1951), pp. 94-95) compares the style of the fable with that of the Song of Deborah and designates it "a very ancient piece".

13. Possibly dependent on the Jotham version of the motif are:

Ez. 28:8	היא אכלתך	ואוציא אש מתוכך
Zech. 11:2	ותאכל אש בארזיך	פתח לבנון דלתיך

14. So von Rad, Heilige Krieg, pp. 24-5: "It knows nothing of an amphictyonic mission or a sacral form of warfare". von Rad follows Noth (ZAW 1944), p. 38, in considering the Song a generalized version of God's expansion in Transjordan.

15. For this and other form-critical terminology used in the course of this study, cf. Westermann, op. cit., and below, Begründung.

16. The LXX has אשור for אשדוד ; so too RSV, IB. Intimate relations between Philistia and Egypt are known from the early Iron age (e. g. the tale of Wen Ammon: cf. B. Mazar, The Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre (1964), p. 2f. The tenth century apparently saw Philistia come under total Egyptian domination (A. Malamat, "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon", in The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah (1961), pp. 38ff). Toward the end of the eighth century, Philistia and Egypt - along with Judah - found common cause against Assyria (cf. Sennacherib's annals, 3rd campaign; Bright, History, pp. 268-9).

17. Harper (ICC, pp. 87-88) renders:

> "And through breaches (reading ובפרצים)
> Ye shall go forth
> Each woman straight before her
> and ye shall be cast toward Harmon."

The equation of הרמון with חרמון is advocated also by Weiser (Die Profetie des Amos (BZAW 53, 1929), pp. 158-9). Wellhausen (Die Kleine Propheten, 4th ed., (1963), p. 4) leaves הרמונה untranslated, commenting (p. 78): "Eine... geographische Angabe wäre... nur angebracht wenn es um das Schicksal des volkes und nicht speziell um das der Weiber sich handelte." IB (vol. 6, pp. 802-3): "The most likely conjecture would read ערמות : 'naked'..." V. Maag (Text... des Buches Amos, 1951, p. 19) follows Sellin and emends: מרפתים תוצינה אשה נגדה והשלכתן חרמונה

18. An interesting parallel is the relation of Deuteronomy, especially chs. 26-28, to second-millenium vassal-treaty forms: cf. D. J. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant (1963) pp. 109-140.

19. The theory of a bipartite division of Hosea (1-3; 4-14) advocated by Kaufmann (Tôldôt... p. 93) goes back to Graetz (Geschichte II, pp. 93ff, 214ff, 439ff). Harper (ICC, p. clix) concludes that there are no grounds for this hypothesis. IB (Vol. 6, p. 563) observes: "Possibly these chapters (i. e. 4-13) with or without ch. 14 circulated for a time separately from chs. 1-3."

The similarity of 8:14 to Amos constitutes a key argument in scholars' considering the verse "inauthentic" (cf. ICC op. cit., p. 325; IB, ad. loc. Wellhausen, op. cit. ad loc.) Wellhausen's conclusions that the second part of this verse "aus Amos entlehnt ist" is followed by the following misgiving: "Sonst finden sich nirgend Spuren von Bekanntschaft Hoseas mit der Schrift des Amos." The contention of a later editorial addition encounters the following objection (IB, p. 563; cf. also note 4 above): "If it is difficult to understand how Hosea could have written this verse in the style of his near contemporary it is no less difficult to understand why an editorial addition should have been written in that style."

20. Cf. above, note 4.

21. Rudolph (Jeremia, p. 280) follows Volz in considering 50:32 "aus 21:14 eingefugt". There is no doubt that 50:32 is dependent on 21:14; but even if the LXX reading is correct - cf. shortly in text - this does not make 50:32 a verbatim reproduction of 21:14. Our reasoning follows immediately in the text.

22. Is ya'ar evidence for the influence of the Jotham - version?

23. E. g. Lam. 2:15: כל עוברי דרך שרקו ויניעו ראשם
Cp. Zeph. 2:15, Jer. 49:17. N. K. Gottwald (Studies in... Lamentations (1954) p. 79) correctly identifies this as a taunt-motif - in line with Nu. 21:27ff - and mock-laments in Isa. 14. The author considers the taunt in Lam. 2:15, 16 "to be some of the phrases and refrains from the typical exilic taunt song". The question of exilic and pre-exilic taunt will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.

The passage under discussion (4:11) is considered by Gottwald part of the overall Day of Yahwe influence in the book (ibid., pp. 84-5). This observation is partly correct when we recall the Y. Y. influence in Amos. 1. The Day of Yahwe is not however the ultimate source of the motif.

24. E. g. Jer. 50:32, 21:14.

25. Cf. Eissfeldt, O. T. Introduction, p. 504: "... the condition of Jerusalem lying desolate after 587 is so vividly described that it seems essential to think of a poet who is actually in the land". The fourth poem (i. e. 4:1ff) is generally considered among the "earliest" of the book: cf. Gottwald, op. cit. pp. 21, 59; Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 503: Th. Meek, in IB (vol. 6, p. 5). The actual description of the disaster (2K. 25:9-11) mentions the destruction-by-fire of the various buildings - including the royal palace and Temple - but the term ארמנות is not attested.

26. The √ntn appears as a synonymous variant for the traditional O. A. N. terms like √ʾabd and √krt - cf. below "The √ʾabd - motif" - cp.:

Am. 1:8 והכרתי יושב מאשדוד ואבדו שארית פלשתים

Ez. 25:7 ונתתיך לבז לגוים והכרתיך מן העמים והאבדתיך

25:18 ונתתיה חרבה ... והכרתי ממנה

27. Cf. e.g. 25:11, 5:14-15.

28. Cf. S. R. Driver, Introduction..., p. 28, 69; Reventlow, Wächter... p. 11.

29. Noting the incongruity of 1 m. s. והצחי and 3 m. s. ושרפם - ושבם Rudolph (op. cit., ad. loc.) suggests reading with the ancient versions (G; Sam., V.,) והצית . Whether or not MT is "original" and correct, it clearly represents a case of stereotype influence so strong as to produce a grammatical incongruity.

30. E.g. 50:38b (cf. below Begründung). The phenomenon will be still more in evidence when we come to discuss the "captivity motif".

31. It will be recalled that a similar process of contraction affected the expression of the motif in Nu. 21 in its subsequent development. The principle may underlie the relationship between the following passages:

Ju. 5:4-5 ... גם שמים נטפו גם עבים נטפו מים
הרים נזלו מפני ד׳ זה (=זו) סיני

Ps. 68:9 ... אף שמים נטפו מפני ה׳ זה (=זו) סיני

32. Since our reconstruction is hypthetical, a reversal of the steps outlined is equally feasible, i. e. the secondary variation may have taken place prior to contraction.

33. Arising from contraction? Cf. note 31 above.

34. Cf. above p.81.

35. Cf., however, Tur-Sinai (170, I , מקרא כפשוטו) who emends שְׁבִית to שְׁבִית .

36. Cp. its synonymity with śārîd (Jos. 8:22, Jer. 42:18; 2K. 19:31 (=Isa. 37:32)) and with √nṣl (Ps. 71:2). S. Cohen (HUCA 34 (1965) p. 156) considers šᵉʾērît (Am. 5:15) to have undergone a similar development.

37. The possibility that this passage is not "authentic" (Führer, Die Hauptprobleme..., p. 76) does not affect the argument.

38. Cf. Deut. 28:41; Am. 9:4; Jer. 20:6, 22:22; Lam. 1:5.

39. Scholars are divided on the precise meaning of this expression. The proposed solutions range from outright emendation (e. g. Sellin: גבול שלמה Cf. Maag, op. cit., p. 7) to "tortured" exegesis (e. g. "peaceful captivity", "holy" or "pious" captivity - cf. ICC op. cit., pp. 24-25). Most are agreed that we are dealing with some form of war-captivity (cf. LXX: "Because they took prisoners" (ἕνεκεν τοῦ αἰχμαλωτεῦσαι αὐτοὺς) of a pre-Assyrian (or "mass exile") variety, with the ultimate intention being sale into slavery. (cf. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 69; Encycl. Miq. II, Col. 497).

40. The disjunction of the two terms of the idiom here and in Hos. 3:4, 7:5 - cp. however 8:10 - is an instance of what E. Z. Melamed (Segal Festschrift, (1964) pp. 188-219) calls "stereotype break-up" (to be distinguished from our term "stereotype breakdown"), i. e. the sundering of an idiom composed of two or more items (e. g. אל שדי) for purposes of parallelismus membrorum.

The idiom occurs elsewhere in the O. A. N.: Jer. 49:39: והאבדתי משם מלך ושרים. There is no direct parallel in Ugaritic to this idiom; in the Gracious Gods, however, Šlm is described as mt wšr which can be rendered "Man and Prince" (mt = Acc. mūtu, Heb. $m^{e}t\bar{e}$ (e. g. מתי מעט) and šr = Acc. šarru, Heb. śr.)

41. Cf. below, "The term 'maśśa'." The references in Hosea are interpreted differently by Tur-Sinai (Lashon ve-Sefer I (2nd ed.) pp. 81-123). Following Eissfeldt (Molk als Opferbegriff... (1935)), Tur-Sinai finds here suggestions of "human sacrifice", termed מֹלֶךְ (אדם) , known from N. African inscriptions of the 3rd-2nd centuries B. C. E. For discussion and criticism, cf. Licht, in Enc. Miq. IV, s. v. מֹלֶךְ (cols. 1113 - 1117).

42. The initiator of this policy was Tiglath-PileserIII (745-727): Cf. J. Bright, op. cit., pp. 252 - 253. The Assyrians seem, however, to have been preceded by the Hittites and Urartians: cf. A. Goetze, Kleinasien, pp. 128, 196. The policy of specifically exiling the king and his entourage can be documented in Assyrian historiographic sources of the 8th century. In Sennacherib's annal of his 3rd campaign we read:

(ANET, p. 28[b]): "Sidqia, however, king of Ashkelon who did not bow to my yoke I deported (as-su-ḫa-ma- - √nsḫ: lit. "to uproot") -- and sent to Assyria, his family - gods, himself, his wife, his children, his brothers, all the male descendants of his family."

Sargon II (ANET, p. 284):

"I smashed like a flood-storm the country of Hamath... I brought its king Iaubi'di as well as his family (and) (his) warriors in fetters, as the prisoner of his county, to Assyria."

The very idiom מלך ושרים appears in the prophet's description of the exile of Jehoiachin (597):

Ez. 17:12 הנה בא מלך בבל ירושלים
ויקח את מלכה ואת שריה

43. The other is √yṣ'.

44. Cf. above, p. 104.

45. Nu. 21: "sons and daughters"; Am. "king and officers".

46. I. e. גלות שְׁלֵמָה

47. Cf. above, note 38.

48. Cf. ANET, pp. 289-297 and especially 295[b] where the specific attack on Thebes (No-Amon) by Ashurbanipal is described.

49. Cf. above, pp. 103-104. In addition to sharing in common the combination of 'captivity' and √hlk, Nah. 3:10 and Isa. 46:2 exhibit the combination in identical form: בשבי הלכה

50. Cf. above, p. 98; below, pp. 109-110.

51. לא יכלו מלט משא. Traditional renderings by "they (i. e. the gods) cannot save/deliver the burden" (RSV; JPS) are unsatisfactory, the comments by Muilenberg (IB, V, 537) notwithstanding. The line represents a skillfully executed double-entendre: the verbs √krʿ and √qrs can refer both to the gods themselves (vs. 1) and to the pack-animals forced to carry their images. Thus "maśśa" in v. 2 carries the connotation "burden" in relation to the animals; in relation to the foreign gods it bears its O. A. N. meaning "pronouncement of doom"---cf. below, "The term 'maśśa'"---viz. "captivity" and "exile". In this latter connotation the expression means: "they cannot escape (√mlṭ) the prophecy of doom". Cp. Is. 51:11, which should be rendered: "they (i. e. the redeemed) shall have fled sorrow and sigh".

52. The identity is actually complete in terms of MT; but for reasons which will be discussed immediately, the LXX reading---which presupposes "Milkom"---is undoubtedly the correct one.

53. The superiority of the LXX reading is conceded by all modern commentators: cf. e. g. Rudolph (op. cit.) and Bright (op. cit.) ad. loc. G^A and G^L both read μελχομ. An interesting reversal of the respective positions taken by MT and LXX in Jer. 49:3 is found in 1 K. 11:5, 33 where LXX has βασιλεῖ for MT: מִלְכֹּם

54. As Kethib, frequently שבית, which, it may be noted, is the form found in Nu. 21. There are isolated cases moreover where the Kethib is šᵉbût, the Qere: šᵉbît (e. g. Ps. 126:4). All of which makes Tur-Sinai's emendation in Nu. 21:28---cf. above note 35---something less than certain.

55. Cp. e.g. Esr. 2:1: העלים משבי הגולה

56. Cp. also Joel 4:1; Zeph. 2:7; 3:20; Ps. 14:7 (=53.7), where the idiom šwb šᵉbût is used to express the hope for the "return" from exile. The occurrence of the idiom in Job 42:10 is problematic. Still the conclusion "that the word šᵉbût/ṯt has nothing to do with captivity" (Pope, Job, p. 291) is I feel unwarranted, and for the following reasons.

(a) 42:10-17 is parallel - both thematically and literarily -- to 1:13-22. What is taken from Job in the one is restored to him - with "interest" - in the other.

(b) The verses in chap. 1 bearing on 42:10 are 14-15 and 17 which record Job's material losses. In the latter we find explicit mention of animals "taken" (√lqḥ: the same verb used idiomatically with "captivity") by the marauders.

(c) The same is likely true in vss. 14-15 though here textual difficulties obscure the meaning. The same root √lqḥ occurs in vs. 15. More importantly, however, it seems likely that שבא has nothing to do with Sabeans - so Pope op. cit. If the latter were intended, we would expect to find m. pl. forms of the verb - as in vs. 17 - and not 3rd fem. sing.

The text has clearly suffered in transmission; note however the following:

(1) The LXX to 1:15 uses the term αἰχμαλωσ twice, once nominally, once verbally. The same term is used in LXX to Joel 4:8:

ומכרם לשבאים אל גוי רחוק

It is thus clear that the LXX took √שבא in both Job 1:15 and Joel 4:8 as synonymous with √שבי.

(2) The form שבא is variant of שבי in Aramaic, meaning "to take captive" (cf. Jastrow, s.v.). The "aramaisms"

in Job are, in turn, well-known, though this no longer points unequivocally to an exilic date, in the light of pre-exilic Aramaic epigraphy (e.g. Sam'al-Ya'udi).

The matter is not hereby settled; still it remains a distinct possibility that שבות in Job 49:2 refers to the livestock "taken captive" by marauders and now returned to him, only doubled in numbers.

57. In a subsequent chapter (Begründung) it will be demonstrated that the earliest characteristic form of "Motivation" in the O. A. N. is anti-Israelite action.

58. Cf. Westermann, Gründforme..., p. 69:

> "Wenn Gott einem einzelnen oder dem Volk Heil ankündigt, so ist das nicht entsprechend der Unheilsankündigung in einem positiven... Tun der Menschen begründet, sondern in Gottes chesed, in seiner Bundestreue..."

59. Cf. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant..., (The Biblical Colloquium: 1955) especially p. 30; von Rad, Theology I, pp. 129ff.

60. Talmudic tradition knows of שבע מצוות בני נוח which are considered binding on the nations of the world. Cp. e.g. Ber. R., 34; Bab. Tal. A. Z. 2b.

61. LXX and 4QDt (cf. P. Skehan, BASOR 136 (1954) p. 12) read: בני אל(ם). We learn from the Ugaritic material that the "sons of El" (or: Atirat) who constitute the Pantheon are seventy in number (UM 51:VI:46). Explicit reference to seventy nations of the world is found only in post-Biblical sources: cf. L. Ginzberg, Legends..., vol. II, 1. 214.

62. Of similar order is the Deity's self-imposed covenantal obligation in Gen. 9:12ff.

II. The √Yrš - Motif

A. The √yrš[1] denotes essentially "acquisition". In the O. T. it carries two connotations: one is "acquisition by force; conquest"; the second, "acquisition by inheritance".[2] Examples of the former are Nu. 27:11, Gen. 15:3, 2 Sam. 14:7, Nu. 36:8, Isa. 57:13; of the latter, Nu. 13:31, Deut. 11:23, Ps. 44:4, I K. 21. Morphologically the most common employments are Qal and Hiphʿil. Four -- possibly six -- instances of Niphʿal usage are attested, three of them in Proverbs. Whereas the Hiphʿil usage is restricted to the "acquisition by force" connotation, the Qal form is found with both connotations. A main locus for √yrš with the "force" connotation is Deuteronomy.[3]

A similar picture presents itself in Ugaritic. The √yrt with the "inheritance" connotation is found in Krt: 25:

hn špḫ yitbd

wbphryh yrt[4]

The "conquest" connotation is reflected in the following:[5]

137:19 artm pdh ("I shall acquire his gold")

'nt:III:44 itrt hrṣ (" " ")

Unlike Ugaritic, however, O. T. usage of √yrš -- with both connotations -- is characteristically with "territory" and, by extension, "inhabitants". In "inheritance" contexts, a common object-referent is thus נחלה -- "portion"--:

e. g. Nu. 36:8 וכל בת ירשת נחלה

The √nḥl in such contexts can serve as a stylistic variant in a synonymous parallelismus membrorum construction:

e. g. Isa. 57:13 ... ינחל ארץ וירש הר קדשי

With the connotation of "forceful acquisition", the object-referent is commonly "(foreign) peoples; inhabitants; territory":

Dt. 11:23 וירשתם גוים גדולים

Ju. 1:29 (cp. 1:27, 30, 31, 33) ואפרים לא הוריש את הכנעני

Ps. 44:4 (cp. Ps. 37 passim) כי לא בחרבם ירשו ארץ

Outside the O. T., this usage is found in:

Mesha, 1:8: וירש עמרי את (אר)ץ מהדבא

Note the usage of √yrš with "territory" and the conquest-connotation.

The √yrš is not of particularly high frequency in the O. A. N. The examples to be cited forthwith indicate that the primary connotation of √yrš in the O. A. N. is that of "forceful acquisition", although the "inheritance" connotation is attested as well. Morphologically, the Qal forms outnumber the Hiph'il forms thirteen to five.

Jer. 49:1-2[6] can serve as our point of departure. Here we read:

הבנים אין לישראל אם יורש אין לו
מדוע ירש מלכם את גד ועמו בעריו ישב
... והשמעתי אל רבת בני עמון תרועת מלחמה
והיתה לתל שממה ובנתיה באש תצתנה
וירש ישראל את יֹרשיו...

Both connotations of √yrš are here in evidence: the first strophe suggests "inheritance", the subsequent usages the "acquisition-by-force:" connotation. Significantly, however, the latter strophes represent ancient O. A. N. material:

Cp. Am. 1:14 והצתי אש בחמת רבה ואכלה ארמנתיה
בתרועה ביום מלחמה

As for the final strophe -- וירש ישראל וכו' -- we intend shortly to demonstrate its literary antiquity.

It may, therefore, be concluded that in the older strata of the O. A. N. tradition, the primary connotation of √yrš was "acquisition by force". A similar conclusion can be drawn from Zeph. 2:8-9, a combined oracle against Ammon and Moab:

שמעתי חרפת מואב וגדופי בני עמון ...
ויגדילו על גבולם ...
שארית עמי יבזום ויתר גוי ינחלום

The charge levelled against Ammon and Moab is that of "territorial expansion", a charge identical with √yrš in its connotation of "forceful acquisition". Furthermore, although the √yrš is not mentioned, there occurs the √nḥl , a stylistic synonym for √yrš.[8] The punishment is therefore an instance of quid pro quo - מידה כנגד מידה, well-attested in prophetic literature.[9] The O. A. N. usage is thus seen to link up with that in Mesha and, as we shall promptly see, Israel's ancient war-literature.

B. As previously noted, the √yrš - motif is not extremely prominent in the O. A. N. The justification for discussing it in our study is twofold:

(a) Discussion hitherto has centered on motifs which characterize the O. A. N. tradition generally with no pattern of application

in terms of a given nation-state discernible. As opposed to this "universal applicability", the √yrš motif can be shown to be closely connected with a specific nation-state, a fact which may account for its limited occurrence.

(b) Two expressions of the motif are reflexes of an ancient stereotype whose origin lies in Israel's ancient war-literature. They are thus illustrative of stylistic processes while pointing to the literary ancestry of the O. A. N. tradition.

A. O. A. N.

Jer. 49:2 (Ammon)	... וירש ישראל את ירשיו
Ez. 25:4(10) (Ammon)	הנני נתנך לבני קדם למורשה
Zech. 9:4 (Tyre)	הנה ד' יורישנה

B. O. A. N. -Y. Y.

Ob. 17 (Edom)	וירש בית יעקב את מורשיהם[11]
Isa. 34:11 (Edom)	וירשוה קאת יקפוד[12]
34:17 (Edom)	... עד עולם ירשוה
Am. 9:12 (Edom)	ביום ההוא... למען ירשו את שארית אדום

A particularly striking feature is the close connection of the √yrš motif with Edom-centered oracles and to a lesser extent, Ammon.[13] The "conquest" connotation of √yrš in the O. A. N. suggests that we must seek at least part of the explanation in the sphere of Israel's historical relations with these states.

Territorial encroachments, seizures, and occupation -- all expressed in the term √yrš -- are a prominent feature in the international conflicts that characterize the political relations of the Syrian-Palestinian states from the latter part of the second to the middle of the first millenium B. C. E. As early as the period of the Judges, Israel -- specifically, Transjordanian Israel -- is embroiled with Ammon in a territorial dispute (Ju. 11).[14] The scene is repeated during the reign of Saul (1 Sam. 11). The power of the Davidic-Solomonic empire, resulting in the conquest and occupation of Ammon, temporarily resolves the issue in Israel's favor (2 Sam. 12:26-31). The ninth and early eighth centuries were dominated by Israel, Aram, and Moab.[15] But after a temporary subjugation to Judah in the 8th century (2 Chron. 26:8, 27:5) the Ammonites seem to have embarked on an expansionist policy -- including the forcible encroachment upon Israelite Transjordan (cf. Zeph. 2:8) -- down till the 6th century.[16]

The relations with other neighboring states -- Aram, Moab, and Edom -- follow a pattern not essentially different. The unstable ninth century in particular saw the Israel — Moab and Israel — Aram conflicts

at their height (cf. Mesha; I K. 13:25; Am. 1:3) with territorial claims in Transjordan in a constant state of flux and dispute. Israel - Edom relations were particularly strained at the beginning and end of the Judean kingdom. Judean occupation of Edomite territory lasted over 100 years (2 Sam. 8:14, I K. 22:48, II K. 8:20-2),[17] while the destruction of the Judean kingdom found Edom encroaching on Judahite preserve, possibly under Arab pressure.[18]

Thus, from an historical standpoint, it is not difficult to see why the √yrš - motif would loom large in a literary tradition concerned with the foreign nations, and especially those with whom Israel had direct geographical contact.[19] It is less clear, however, why the motif should gravitate to one particular nation - Edom - to the virtual exclusion of others. Here the historical frame of reference must be supplemented by the literary.

It is submitted that the answer lies in literary traditions of the pre-historical -- or early-historical -- period, as reflected in the quasi-legendary Genesis narratives and early Israelite war-literature.

C. The antiquity of the Israel-Edomite conflict is attested to by the Jacob-Esau narrative- cycle. According to this narrative, Jacob and Esau were "at it" already in the pre-natal state (Gen. 25:22). The following events are similarly portrayed in a light intended to accentuate

the deep-rooted hostility in this sibling-relationship. The climax is reached when Jacob slyly cheats his brother of the paternal blessing, an action which the morally-sensitive narrator may have sought to justify with the episode of Jacob's purchase of the birthright.[20] It is this climactic development that suggests what the conflict is all about: the issue is "inheritance" -- √yrš -- and Jacob's ruse results in his "disinheriting" his brother.[21] The import of this material for our analysis is not only the conflict-element but more specifically, the "√yrš-motif" as the very heart of the conflict.

It may however be objected that the √yrš - motif that figures in the Jacob-Esau stories lacks the "conquest" connotation posited for the O. A. N. usage. Against this objection it may be urged:

(a) The utilization of the double-connotation of √yrš for artistic purposes was seen in Jer. 49:1-2.

(b) We have at hand evidence for the √yrš - Edom combination going back to ancient war-literature in which the "(legal) inheritance" aspect is totally superseded by that of "conquest". This evidence we now propose to discuss.

1. Nu. 24:18 והיה אדם ירשה
והיה ירשה שעיר אויביו[22]

Even without recalling that this passage occurs in the final Balaam Lay,[23] we might be persuaded of its antiquity by the repetitive-poetic style.[24] The use of √yrš here is free of any "inheritance" connotation

as is evident from the use of ʾôyēb:

cf. Nu. 32:21 עד הורישו את אויביו מפניו

Taken by itself, the Balaam passage establishes the antiquity of the Edom - √yrš combination. It does not of its own accord establish that this combination actually crystallized in a stereotyped expression, the reflexes of which are to be found in the O. A. N. tradition. The establishing of this point requires an examination of the following passages.

2.

Gen. 22:17[25] וירש זרעך את שער אויביו

Gen. 24:60 וירש זרעך את שער שׂנאיו

Jer. 49:2 וירש ישראל את יורשיו

Ob. 17 וירש בית יעקב את מורשיהם

It is immediately clear that the Gen. passages are reflexes of one and the same poetic stereotype. The poetic character of the expression is clear from its respective contexts:

Gen. 24:10[26] ויברכו אֶת רבקה ויאמרו לה
אחותנו את היי לאלפי רבבה
וירש זרעך את שער שנאיו

Gen. 22:17

כי ברך אברכך
והרבה ארבה את זרעך
ככוכבי השמים וכחול אשר על שפת הים
וירש זרעך את שער אויביו

Observe that both contexts belong to the genre of the "Patriarchal blessing", a genre connected by Kaufmann[27] with the Mošlim tradition, and one almost invariably poetic in character: (cf. Gen. 27:27-29; 27:39-40; 48:15-16, 20; 49). Furthermore: the fact that the same "blessing" is utilized in two different contexts suggests that its literary origin is in neither, that it is rather a fragment quoted from an external third source. The same conclusion suggests itself from a second consideration: the expression is "conquest"-oriented and the "disinheriting of foes" is hardly to the point in either context. In Gen. 22 - the ʿaqedah story - the issue is the existence of off-spring per se and not their fortunes in war. In Gen. 24, the blessing is offered by Rebekah's sisters on the eve of her departure: a reference to their sibling relationship and even a wish for plentiful offspring is understandable: the offspring "inheriting the gate of their enemies" is highly anticipatory and thus, one suspects, out of place.

But it is only when we compare this expression with the above-quoted Balaam passage that our initial suspicions are confirmed.

Nu. 24:18 והיה ירשה שער אויביו

Gen. וירש זרעך את שער אויביו (שונאיו)

The key to the relationship of these passages is the word: ש-ע-ר Stripped of diacritical pointing and mater lectionis, Śeir and Ša'ar are orthographically identical. When, to this, we add the words שונאיו - אויביו and the √yrš we can hardly avoid concluding that all three expressions are quite closely related. The question is only: what is the nature of this relationship?

It is clear that despite their similarities, the Gen. and Nu. expressions are not verbatim reproductions: indeed, the variation in the Gen. passages themselves- שונאיו - אויביו -suggests even here that stylistic processes and development are operative. How much more so in the case of Gen. and Nu., and this particularly as regards the rendering of √yrš.

The possibilities are two:

(a) Either we are dealing with a direct literary dependency of one on the other, in which case the stylistic variations represent an advanced degree of stereotype-breakdown, or

(b) Both are dependent on a common third source, in which only the second hemstich was literarily stereotyped, with √yrš figuring in a number of variations.

The latter possibility seems more likely:

(a) because the similarity of the Genesis passages does not support an hypothesis of advanced stereotype-breakdown

(b) the evidence of Jer. 49:2-Ob. 17- (to be discussed shortly) - which are stylistically quite close to the Gen. passages suggests a prototype for the Genesis passages other than Nu. 24.

This common third source cannot be identified with complete confidence. However, the literary character of the Balaam Lays as war-prophecy as well as the poetically-archaic characteristics of the expressions[28] suggest an ancient war-literature along the lines of Sēfer Milḥamôt YHWH.[29] More inviting is the question of the prototypal form or forms of the expression in this literature. We shall approach this question along two lines of inquiry:

(a) The Śeir - Śa'ar relationship

(b) The hemistich involving √yrš

(1) The orthographic identity of Śeir - Śa'ar prior to the introduction of internal vowel-letters raises the question whether and when the two were distinguished.[30] The use of the expression in its present Genesis contexts suggest that they were in fact distinguished, orally if not orthographically.[31] Our reasoning is thus: a reading

"Śeir" in Gen. 22:17 and Gen. 24:60 would have constituted a gross anachronism, in addition to running counter to the tendency towards subtle ambiguity which such expressions usually evidence.[32] Assuming, therefore, that the present orthography - including the massoretic pointing - reflect an original distinction, the problem is deciding which is primary and which is secondary.

The answer must be Śeir as:

(a) The stereotype must originally have contained a reference to Edom; this much can be established from the Balaam passage. Now, whereas Śeir is a quite likely synonym for Edom in a parallelistic construction, Šaʿar is hardly so.[33]

(b) The Gen. contexts are more foreign to the expression than is the Balaam Lay. The need for "contextual adaptation" would thus be greater in the Genesis passages.

(c) The ultimate transferrence of the √yrš stereotype to a people other than Edom (Jer. 49:2) presupposes some such development as "Śeir > Šaʿar", i. e. the elimination of the specifying - feature of the expression.

(2) The degree of variation in evidence with regard to the first hemistich - involving √yrš -- led us to believe that here the Genesis and Balaam versions part company, at least from a stylistic standpoint. It is at this point, however, that the relationship between the Gen. and O. A. N. passages is particularly strong.

Gen. ... וירש זרעך

Jer. ... וירש ישראל

Ob. ... וירש בית יעקב

At first sight, and in view of the relatively late dates of Jer. and Obadiah, it seems likely that the original form would be represented by Genesis. Yet such is not the casé.

(i) The term זרע occurs in Gen. 22:17 both before and after our expression: ... והרבה ארבה את זרעך ...
... וירש זרעך ...
... והתברכו בזרעך ...

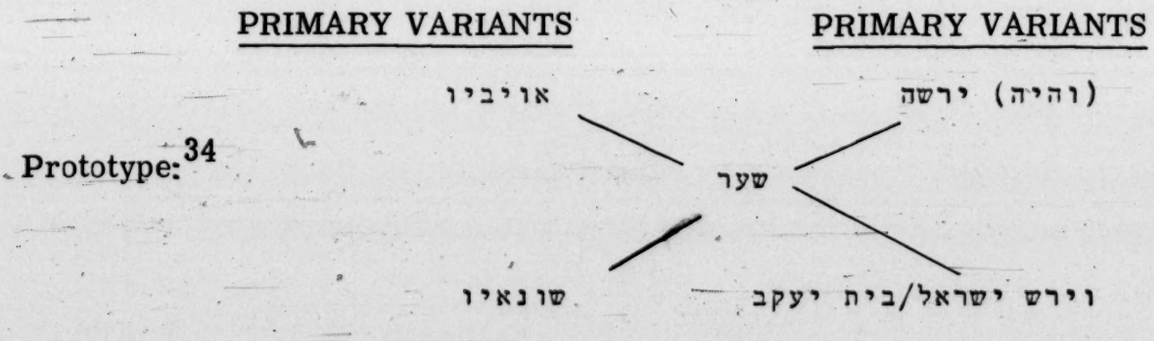
Thus the possibility of "contextual contamination" - or, better, "stylistic levelling by analogy" - must be reckoned with.

(ii) The principle of adaptation observed with regard to Śeir - Śa'ar - i. e. from the "Specific" to the "General" - may have affected

the first hemistich as well. In other words: on the basis of the "Śeir-Šaʿar" development, we can readily account for an "X > zeraʿ" development, where "X" represents a specific people or nation.

Were it not for the Jer. - Ob. evidence, we should have no basis for identifying "X". There is, however, no reason to doubt that "X" did in fact correspond to Israel/Beth Jacob. Despite the date of the Jer. - Ob. expressions and their similarity to that of Genesis, - a combination which seemingly precludes access by the former to the prototypal source - they may yet have preserved the older version of the first hemistich.

In light of what has preceded, we would suggest the following reconstruction:



D. There remains yet to be discussed the place of Jer. 49:2 - Ob. 17 in this stylistic development. We have previously shown reason for believing that - stylistically - the first hemistich represented by each was earlier than, and similar to, the prototype of the Genesis model.

The same, however, cannot be said of the latter hemistich.

Nu. 24:18	... שעיר אויביו
Genesis	... שער אויביו/שונאיו
Jer. 49:2	... את יורשיו
Ob. 17	... את מורשיהם

There can be little doubt but that Jer. - Ob. represent varying stages of stereotype - breakdown.

(a) In Jer. 49:2 the secondary variant[35] - יורשיו - has replaced the primary variants אויביו / שונאיו, though something of the original acoustical ring is yet preserved. In Obadiah, even this last remnant has disappeared. Nor is there any trace in either of Śeir - Śa'ar.

The variants יורשיו - מורשיהם [36] can be explained further in historical terms. Whereas the Gen. and Nu. passages presuppose - in fact or in theory - a historical tabula rasa, Jeremiah and Obadiah are prophesying against the background of "disinheritance" already unfolded and executed. [37]

(b) The most significant variation in Jer. 49:2, is not, however, stylistic. Jer. is evidence for the sundering of the Edom - √yrš relationship and the transference to Ammon. This transfer, however, presupposes a stylistic development along the lines of "Śeir > Ša'ar", a development which transforms the stereotyped - motif from "specific" to "universal" applicability. The same transfer is executed by Ezek. 25:4(10) (vs. Ammon):

הנני נתנך לבני קדם למורשה

Stylistically, however, Ez. 25:4(10) is related to Ob. 17 rather than Jer. 49:2.

Ob. 17 וירש בית יעקב את מורשיהם

But the Ob. verse has as its subject Edom, rather than Ammon. Though this might reflect the original association, it is more likely that the usage - like that vis-à-vis Ammon in Ezek. - is determined by historical developments, viz. the post - 587/6 encroachment by Ammon and Edom on Judahite territory.

E. The conclusions arrived at in the course of this section may be summarized as follows:

(a) The √yrš - motif in the O. A. N. evidences an intimate connection with a particular nation, viz. Edom.

(b) A number of O. A. N. passages involving this motif reflect a stereotyped expression whose origin is to be located in ancient Israelite war-literature.

(c) Evidence for this stereotyped expression can be found in the Balaam Lays and in a poetic fragment preserved in the Genesis narrative.

(d) Such was the connection between √yrš and Edom in ancient tradition, that it became the subject of quasi - legendary folk-tale as exemplified by the Jacob-Esau stories.

(e) A combination of stylistic and historical factors result in the transfer of the stereotype to Ammon.

The √yrš motif can thus be viewed as another link between the O. A. N. and the Mošlim tradition as represented by the Balaam Lays. This link was first seen in the fire-motif. Still another link will be established in the following discussion.

NOTES ON THE √YRŠ MOTIF

1. Ug. yrt, Arabic warita, Aeth. warasa.

2. Cf. Koehler-Baumgartner, Lexicon..., s.v.

3. Ibid., idem.

4. Cf. Gordon, UM, Glossary, #867.

5. Aisleitner, Wörterbuch..., s.v.: "sich bemächtigen".

6. Cf. H. L. Ginsberg in A. Marx Jubilee Volume for an historical interpretation of this passage. A textual analysis and suggested reconstruction of this oracle is found in F. North, JBL (1946), pp. 37-43.

7. F. North, op. cit., following BH^3, suggests we read with LXX "Milkom" instead of MT "Malkam". The suggestion is not, however, as compelling here as in 49:3: (cf. above, "Exile-motif").

(a) cf. Mesha, l. 8, where the subject of √yrš is "Omri".

(b) The combination of a deity with √yrš generally results in the Hiph'il form: cf. the stereotyped expression (Deut. - II K. passim): אשר הוריש ד' (אתם) מפניכם ...
and, specifically in connection with Ammon, Ju. 11:24:
הלא את אשר יורישך כמוש (מלכם?) אלהיך אותו תירש
ואת כל אשר הוריש ד' אלהינו מפנינו אותו נירש

8. Cf. Isa. 57:13 and above, p. 129.

9. Cf. e.g. Isa. 5:8f.

10. The nominal forms of √yrš are ירשה and מורשה, corresponding to the Qal and Hiph'il usages respectively. Whereas ירשה is closer to the "legal connotation" - cf. Jer. 52:8 - מורשה, with the exception of Deut. 33:4, bears the "force" connotation.

11. MT vocalization implies a nominal formation. LXX however implies a participial formation. On the basis of Jer. 49:2 we should opt for the LXX interpretation. BH^3 suggests the plausible emendation מור(י)שיהם.

12. A possible example of a typical motif transfer—Edom > Babylon: cp. Jer. 49:21 - 50:46—can be illustrated at this point:
Isa. 14:23 (Babylon?) ושמתיה למורש קפוד

13. Zech. 9:14 - where √yrš is used in connection with Tyre - is not a significant exception: it has, stylistically, little in common with the other expression. God is here the direct agent. Note also the Hiph'il form. The literary prototype of this usage is: הוריש ד' מפני בני ישראל... (cf. Ju. 11:23, 24; I K. 14; 2 K 17).

14. Significantly, the √yrš figures prominently in this dispute: cf. 11:23-24 (note 7 above).

15. Cf. however, 2 Chron. 20:1f, and esp. 20:11.

16. Cf. Ginsberg, op. cit.; Albright, ARI[4], p. 207, n. 72. Opposed is van Zyl, The Moabites, p. 152.

17. It is probably at this time - particularly the David - Solomon period - that the √yrš - Edom combination emerged as a dominant literary motif, though its origin is earlier. Cf. subsequently below. According to Haller (Marti Festschrift, BZAW, 41), Israel - Edom antipathy is a product of the post-exilic period.

18. Cf. J. Bright, A History of Israel, p. 324; M. Noth, The History of Israel (2nd ed.), p. 326.

19. It is an important observation on the O. A. N. as a whole--especially its early strata--(cf. Amos 1), that the focus is on Syria-Palestine rather than the Empire states of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

20. Cf. Speiser, Genesis, p. 197: "...the social setting of the (birthright) transfer was no longer self-evident at the time of the writing which permitted popular etymology to interpose its own interpretation."

21. Cf. Speiser, op. cit., pp. 212-213, for the possible Hurrian background for this dispute.

22. The editors of BH[3] suggest deleting the entire second line. Albright, (JBL, 1944), considers אויביו misplaced and transposes it after: וירד מיעקב in the following line. Both emendations are in my opinion mistaken.

(a) The combination of (plural) אויבי with שעיר, though unusual, is not decisive. National names are frequently found in conjunction with plural predicates. Cf. Kautzsch-Cowley, GHG, #145c. On the other hand, cf. such expressions as "כף אויבי" and "נפש אויבי" (e.g. Ps. 18:1, 41:3), i.e., "אויבי" as collective singular.

(b) The combination of "Śeir (=geog. area) - (personalized) 'enemies'" -- though sensed by the LXX, which substitutes "Esau", as strange -- is no problem if we understand here (the children of) Śeir--cf. Nu. 24:17 "the children of Seth"--the eponymous Horite ancestor (Gen. 36:20). Recall also that √yrš--in the sense of "conquest, dispossession"--is found with "peoples" as well as "territory".

23. The antiquity of the Balaam poems is staunchly defended by W. F. Albright (JBL, 1944) and his students (cf. Cross-Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography, p. 60, n. 2). According to Albright (ibid., p. 226) the poems were composed between the mid-13th and the end of the 12th centures B. C. E. and committed to writing in the 10th or early 9th. According to Kaufmann (op. cit., p. 40f; cf. "Introduction" above), they represent fragmentary survivals of the Mošlim tradition of the Conquest-era. Mowinckel (ZAW N. F. 7 (1930) pp. 233-271; He that Cometh, p. 12, n. 2) is "unconvinced" by Albright's interpretation. The most recent treatment is J. Coppens' in Mélanges Eugene Tisserant (1964), pp. 67-80, who affirms (p. 77) a date of composition in the time of Saul-David. S. Gevirtz (Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel (1963), pp. 48ff) does not pronounce on the question of date of composition.

24. This pattern is common in Ugaritic and early Hebrew epic-poetry (e.g. Ex. 15:11; Ps. 68:23, 25). Cf. below, √ʾabd Motif, p. 158; Cross and Freedman, JNES XIV (1955), pp. 237-250; W. F. Albright, HUCA 23 (1950), pp. 1-39.

25. Says Speiser (op. cit., p. 164):

> "The phrase "shall take over (or 'possess')" the gates of their enemies refers to capture of the opponent's administrative and military centers. Analagously, in Akkadian omen Literature, favorable signs promise the conquest of enemy territory."

26. Cf. BH^3 where the structuring of the passage is correctly poetic. The following passage - Gen. 22:17 - is not so rendered.

27. Cf. "Introduction" (I), above, p. 18.

28. Albright, "Oracles of Balaam", op. cit.

29. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, Der Maschal im A. T., p. 54 and below, "Lament...".

30. According to Cross-Freedman (Early Hebrew Orthography, 1952, p. 57): "the system of [final] matres lectionis was not used in Hebrew before the 9th century." The use of internal matres lectionis is considered by the authors to have originated in Hebrew in the 6th century. Still another consideration is dialectical differences between North and South, including - as Ju. 12:6 demonstrates - the š-ś phonemes.

31. This raises the vexious question of "oral" versus "written" transmission of Israelite literature. Without going into the matter, this much is clear for the material under discussion. If the Cross-Freedman

hypothesis (cf. previous note) is correct; and if our stylistic - development theory is sound, then we are perforce obliged to conclude a period of oral transmission, down to the sixth century.

32. Cp. Gen. 25:23 לאם מלאם יאמץ
ורב יעבד צעיר
This is true of oracular utterances generally: (e. g.) the Delphi oracles.

33. For Śeir-Edom parallelism, cf. especially Gen. 36:1; Ju. 5:4. For stylistic interchange of the two, cf. Ez. 35:15; 28:8.

34. The diagram is to be interpreted as follows:

(a) "Prototype" refers to the hypothetical stereotype of the "Urtext" which is either reproduced in our extant sources or has exerted a decisive stylistic influence on the preserved versions of the stereotype.

(b) "primary variant" refers to the actual members of the stereotype-structure prior to "Breakdown". A "secondary variant" is, by contrast, a member which owes its existence to such "breakdown". Cf. "Introduction" (II), above, pp. 22-23. (It may seem a contradiction-in-terms to speak of "stereotype-variants": if an expression is stereotyped it does not allow for variants and vice-verse. Yet such is not the case for O. T. and, one suspects, for Canaanite poetry generally: the reason being the fundamental law of ancient Hebrew poetry, the phenomenon of parallelismus membrorum. Of necessity, stereotyped expressions in poetic contexts will give rise to stylistic variants which prevent the stereotype itself from becoming absolutely rigid.)

(c) The prototype(s) may have been one (or both) of the following (adopting traditional Massoretic orthography):

(i) והיה ירשה שעיר אויביו/שונאיו

or

(ii) וירש ישראל/בית יעקב את שעיר אוֹבִיו/שונאיו

35. Cf. previous note. The specific cause of "breakdown" in this case is paranomasia.

36. Cf. note 11 above.

37. Cf. above, p. 134.

III. The √ʾabd - motif

A.

Among the numerous expressions of doom and motifs of destruction predicated of nations in the O. A. N. tradition, the √ʾabd looms particularly large:

1.	Jer. 48:46	אוי לך מואב אבד עם כמוש
	Jer. 48:8	ויבא שׁדד אל כל העיר ואבד העמק
	Ez. 26:17	איך אבדת נושבת מימים
	Zech. 9:5	... ואבד מלך מעזה
2.	Jer. 49:39[1]	והאבדתי משם מלך ושרים
	Ob. 1:8	והאבדתי חכמים מאדום
	Zeph. 2:5	והאבדתיך מאין יושב
	Ez. 30:13	והאבדתי גלולים ...

The preceding examples indicate that in the O. A. N. the √ʾabd is used to convey the meaning "perish, destroy",[2] while the characteristic forms are Qal-perfect and Hiphil - perfect with waw-consecutive.[3]

The following examples are intended to illustrate the main stylistic variants associated with √ʾabd:

3. (a) √ʾabd - √krt[4]

Am. 1:8 והכרתי יושב מאשדוד ...
ואבדו שארית פלשתים

Ez. 25:6 והכרתיך מן העמים
והאבדתיך מן הארצות

25:16 והכרתי את הכרתים
והאבדתי את שארית חוף הים

Cp. also Mic. 5:9 (Y. Y.): והכרתי סוסיך מקהבך
והאבדתי מרכבותיך

(b) √ʾabd - √šdd (cf. above, Jer. 48:8)

Jer. 51:54 כי שדד ד׳ את בבל
ואבד ממנה קול גדול

Joel 1:10-11(Y. Y.) שדד שדה ...
כי אבד קציר שדה

B.

Stylistically viewed, the examples listed evidence two stereotyped usage patterns, which patterns we shall yet have occasion to observe in extra-biblical material. Pattern 1 can be represented by:

X + √abd with √abd taking the Qal form, "X" corresponding to the nation - state and/or its representatives—king, officers, wise-men etc. — in a kind of pars pro toto relationship. This pattern is exemplified within the O. A. N. tradition by Jer. 48:46; Am. 1:8; Zech. 9:5; Ez. 26:17. Outside the O. A. N. tradition, the pattern can be seen in:

Ex. 10:7 ... כי אבדה מצרים

Jer. 40:15 (cp. Am. 1:8; Ez. 25:16) ואבדה שארית יהודה

As part of a denunciation by a 9th century prophet:

II K. 9:8[5] ואבד כל בית אחאב

As reflecting a development previously noted in connection with the O. A. N. - Y. Y. relationship:

Ps. 10:15 ... אבדו גוים

But seemingly most significant of all is the evidence for pattern 1 of √abd provided by the following:

Nu. 21:29 אוי לך מואב אבדת עם כמוש

21:30 ונירם(?) אבד חשבון עד מידבה

The first example is the prototype of Jer. 48:46;[6] the second - ונירם אבד - not only confirms the use of the pattern - cp. above אבד העמק - אבד שארית - אבד מלך - but provides additionally an important link with an extra-Biblical witness to the pattern, viz. the Mesha inscription. (cf. below)

The second usage-pattern can be formulated as: X + √h'abd where √'abd takes the form of the causative H-stem. Examples are Ez. 25:16, Jer. 49:39, Ob. 8, Zeph. 2:5. This pattern is paralleled most significantly in:

Nu. 24:19 (Balaam) והאביד שריד מעיר

Cp. Ez. 25:16 [7] והאבדתי שארית ...

This pattern, too, has its parallel in extra-biblical sources (cf. below).

Two features of the preceding analysis are especially noteworthy:

(a) The two major stylistic patterns involving √'abd in the O. A. N. are clearly represented in the Mošlim tradition: the Mošlim song and the Balaam Lays.

(b) Whereas the √'abd occurs in the O. T. with a wide variety of subjects, [8] the O. A. N. evidences a relatively restricted usage with political enemies, a feature - it will be shortly demonstrated - common to Israel's ancient war-literature, including, but not limited to, the Mošlim tradition.

C.

In this section we intend to demonstrate:

(a) The √'abd as a lexicographical feature of Israel's ancient war-literature and as a stereotyped term used against enemies.

(b) Extra-biblical witnesses to the term as evidence for similar usage, especially in the Syria-Palestine area.

1. Ju. 5:31 כן יאבדו כל אויבך ד׳

Ps. 92:10 כי הנה אויבך ד׳

כי הנה אויבך יאבדו

The significant feature here is the seemingly stereotyped usage of √ʾabd with ʾōyēb in contexts which either themselves belong to Israel's earliest literary creations (Ju. 5[9]) or are modelled on ancient Israelite - indeed, pre-Israelite - literary forms (Ps. 92:10-[10]).

To this must be added the witness of Deuteronomy. This literary work evidences the √ʾabd with meaning "to perish" etc. better than a dozen times, including stylistic patterns hitherto unattested:

1) אבד תאבדון: inf. abs. with Qal imperfect. (4:26, 8:19, 30:18)

2) The expression עד אֲבד (7:20, 28:22, 28:51)

3) Stereotyped combination of √ʾabd with adverbial mhr(h).

Though not restricted in its usage to Israel's enemies, there is good reason to believe that such a usage forms the basis for the others:

Cp. Deut. 8:19 (=30:18) העדתי בכם היום כי אבד תאבדון

כגוים אשר ד׳ מאביד מפניכם כן תאבדו

The above context illustrates the manner in which the √ʾabd came to be used as anti-Israel "curse-motif".[12] God's threat to Israel is made explicitly analogous to his treatment of the foreign nations who constituted Israel's enemies of the conquest-period. Further evidence along this line is:

Deut. 9:3 ... ד׳ אלהיך הוא העובר לפניך
והורשתם והאבדתם מהר

Note the combination of √yrš and √ʾabd.

Notwithstanding the relatively late-date of the book as a whole,[13] there is good reason to believe that here, as elsewhere, the author(s) is drawing on ancient literary materials, specifically in this case, ancient war-literature.[14]

Still another O. T. source - one which shows the closest affinities with the O. A. N. tradition - points to a similar connection of √ʾabd with foreign nations conceived as enemies. This is Ps. 83:3ff.

vss. 3-4: כי הנה אויביך יהמיון
ומשנאיך נשאו ראש
על עמך יערימו סוד
ויתיעצו על צפוניך

Cp. Jer. 48:2 ... בחשבון חשבו עליה רעה

This is followed in v. 5 by a direct-quotation, a device quite common in the O. A. N. tradition, especially as a "taunt" (cf. Ez. 28:2, Isa. 14:13).

v. 6 אמרו לכו ונכחידם מגוי
ולא יזכר שם ישראל עוד

Cp. Jer. 48:2 לכו ונכריתנה [15] מגוי

There follows, vss. 7-10, a detailed enumeration of enemy-states, not unlike Am. 1, Jer. 25:

7-10 אהלי אדום [16] וישמעאלים מואב והגרים
גבל ועמון ועמלק פלשתים עם ישבו צור
גם אשור נלוה עמם היו זרוע לבני לוט

Following references to Israel's ancient battles - Midian and Sisera - we meet again with the direct quotation form as well as the fire motif - in its theophanic form - and then:

vs. 18 יבשו ויבהלו עדי-עד
ויחפרו ויאבדו

In addition to the evidence for √ʾabd, the combined usage with √bwš and √bhl is of no little significance in linking this psalm at once with the O. A. N. and ancient war-material:

Jer. 46:24	הבישה [17] בת-מצרים
48:1	הבישה... קריתים
Isa. 23:5	... יחילו כשמע צר
Ex. 15:14	שמעו עמים ירגזון חיל אחז ישבי פלשת אז נבהלו אלופי אדום

2.

The extra-biblical material bearing on our problem is:

(a) The Mesha Inscription[16]

(b) The aramaic Sefiré treaties[19]

(c) The aramaic Nérab burial inscriptions[20]

(a) Mesha

Form-critically viewed, the Mesha Inscription is of a genre with that of Azitawadda, Kilamuwa, Zakir etc.[21] After a self-introduction, there follows a historical synopsis dealing with the period of the author's predecessor, intended by contrast to highlight the grand achievements of the author's reign. The style is a narrative prose worthy of the O. T. historiographers, but prose nonetheless. How great then is our astonishment to read in line 7:

וישראל אבד [22] אבד עלם

Two observations can be made at the very outset:

(i) The line is of transparently poetic character.[23]

(ii) It seems to be almost an intrusion in the narrative sequence.

Less obvious perhaps, but no less clear, is the stylistic parallel between it and Nu. 21:30 and pattern #1 generally: cp.

Nu. 21:30 ונירם אבד

Mesha וישראל אבד

Cp. also עדי אבד in the Balaam Lays.

The question remains, however, as to the ultimate literary origins of this phrase in Mesha. A direct Israelite borrowing seems a remote possibility. More likely is the hypothesis that we have here a poetic literary fragment going back to a tradition akin to that of the Mošlim.[24] Now as was pointed out by O. Eissfeldt some fifty years ago,[25] the Mošlim Song is essentially "taunt-song" (cf. below). A characteristic "taunt-device" is that of "direct-quotation", a device which, while not attested in the Mošlim Song, is well-attested in ancient Israelite war-song as well as the O. A. N. (cf. above, p. 160)

Ex. 15:9 אמר אויב ארדף אשיג אחלק שלל

Ju. 5:29-30 אף היא תשיב אמריה לה

הלא ימצאו יחלקו שלל

In this light, we can more properly appreciate:

Mesha l. 5. ויאמר גם הא אענו את מאב בימי

The evidence taken together strongly points to the likelihood of a tradition of war-literature common to at least the Canaanite - including the Transjordanian - area, a tradition which delighted in the use of "taunt" and which found extensive use for the word √ʾabd. Remnants of this tradition in the O. T. are Nu. 21:27ff, the Balaam Lays[26] (esp. 24:15ff), with traces discernible in the Song of Deborah and the Song of the Sea.

(b) Sefiré

The second extra-biblical witness of some import for our discussion is the Aramaic Sefiré treaties. The √ʾabd occurs here three times,[27] but only one is germane to our discussion:

ii C 5 אהבד את כתך ואת מלכה

From a stylistic viewpoint, the above-quotation bears a strong resemblance to "pattern 2": the causative H-stem with subject - referent a nation-state. The addition of "its king" finds its stylistic parallel in the O. T. - and specifically O. A. N. - texts.

Cp. Zech. 9:5 ... ואבד מלך מעזה ואשקלון לא חשב

Jer. 49:38 ... והאבדתי משם מלך ושרים

The literary setting is the "vassal-treaty", a subject which has come in for much scholarly discussion of late.[28] The particular phrase cited appears in what is termed the "curses" portion, a portion which though varying widely in detail, appears in most, if not all, of the known treaty-forms. Here, then, the √ʾabd has become a "curse-motif", a development which can be paralleled by Deut. 28, similarly a curses - context, where √ʾabd occurs four times; and Lev. 26 -- of similar form-critical character -- where one of the two occurrences of √ʾabd in Leviticus is found.[29] This fact, however, in no way warrants the conclusion that the √ʾabd is "treaty-terminology": the √ʾabd is not a constant curse-motif, nor is the use of √ʾabd as curse-motif limited to the treaty-forms.[30]

(c) Nérab

The Nérab inscriptions (I and II) evidence the √ʾabd as a curse-motif:

I:11 ויהאבדו זרע

II:10 ואחריתה תאבד

The literary context is the "burial inscription", a type otherwise familiar from Phoenicia: Aḥiram, Tabnit, Eshmunezer. The √ʾabd occurs in the latter-portion of the text where threats are directed against whomsoever destroy, efface, or otherwise upset the monument and the corpse.

Tabnit, l. 7. ואם פחח תפתח עלתי ורגז תרגזני
אל י(כ)ן ל(ך) זרע בחיים

The threat of "loss of offspring" above parallels that of Nérab I:11. Stylistically, it can be demonstrated in O. T. texts as well:

(a): With √ʾabd:2K. 11:1 ... ותאבד כל זרע המלוכה

(b): With √yrš:Isa. 54:3 וזרעך גויים ירש

(c): With √šdd:Jer. 49:10 (O. A. N.) שדד זרעו ואחיו ושכניו

But the most striking stylistic-parallel[31] is between the following:

Nérab II:10 ואחריתה תאבד

Nu. 24:19:(Balaam): ואחריתה עדי-אבד

The evidence of the extra-biblical material examined is such as to warrant the hypothesis that at least two major O. T. usages of √ʾabd -- as "war" and "curse" motifs respectively -- were well-known in the Syria-Palestine area; that the "war-usage" came into Israel at a very early date, as witnessed by the Mošlim and ancient war-songs; and finally, that it was taken up by the O. A. N. tradition whose ultimate roots in this war-literature tradition -- especially the Mošlim or "taunt" portions -- is becoming ever-more apparent. The capstone will be provided by the immediately following discussion.

NOTES TO √'ABD MOTIF

1. This verse -- taken in conjunction with Jer. 4:8 -- provides an interesting case of "break-up" (cf. Melamed, "Breakup of Stereotype Phrases..." in M. H. Segal Festschrift (1964), pp. 188-219; Earlier: Scripta Hierosolymitana 8, pp. 115-153).

Jer. 49:39	והאבדתי משם מלך ושרים
4:8	יאבד לב המלך ולב השרים

2. Cognate with Ug. √'abd; Acc. abātu; Ar. أَبَدَ : "perish, destroy". The O. T. usage meaning "to wander" -- paralleled in West-Semitic: cf. Hoftijzer-Jean, Dictionnaire..., s. v. -- is not discussed, in that nowhere does it appear with this connotation in O. A. N. sources.

3. The √'abd appears in the O. T. in Qal perfect some 49 times, of which 33 are 3m. s. Of these 33, seven are O. A. N. - Y. Y., or "Mošlim" context. The significance of this ± 20% ratio can be seen upon comparing Qal-imperfect forms, which occur some 41 times in the O. T., none of them O. A. N. Compare also Pi'el and Hiph'il occurences:

	O. T.	O. A. N.	
Pi'el	38	2	(± .05%)
Hiph'il	28	9	(± 33%)

4. An interesting aspect of this synonymity -- outside the O. A. N. -- emerges from examining the occurrences of √'abd and √krt in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. The former employs √krt some twenty times -- especially in the stereotyped expression: ונכרת(ה)... מעמ(ה) the √'abd but twice. The ratio is similar in Deuteronomy, but reversed: √'abd occurs a dozen or more times, √krt but twice. But note: Lev. 23:29, 30: כי כל הנפש אשר לא תענה בעצם היום הזה ונכרתה מעמיה

וכל נפש אשר תעשה כל מלאכה בעצם היום הזה והאבדתי את הנפש ההיא מקרב עמה

Deut. 12:29 (=19:1) כי יכרית ד' אלהיך את הגוים

These two usages render suspect Zimmerli's conclusion (quoted by Reventlow, Wächter über Israel, p. 144) that √krt originates in individual - oriented contexts. The terms are rather to be viewed as stylistic variants.

5. It is worthy of note that √'abd appears here in parallelism with √krt: והכרתי ל(אחאב) , a stereotyped expression: cf. IK. 14:10, 21:21.

6. The relationship is almost - but not quite - verbatim reproduction. Note the variant forms of √'abd ("levelled" by Rudolph and Bright). A comparison of the immediately poursuivant lines shows that the relationship is, in fact, governed by stylistic factors (and, therefore, to be distinguished from such phenomena as Is. 2 - Mic. 4: Jer. 19:20 - 50:44-45):

Nu. 21:29	נתן בניו פליטם ובנתיו בשבית
Jer. 48:46	כי לקחו בניך בשבי ובנתיך בשביה

Cf. above, discussion of "exile-motif". I am at a loss to explain the absence of LXX witness to Jer. 48:45-47; Rudolph (ad. loc.) notes only that v. 47 (sic!) is missing and considers MT 47 "ein Schreiberzusatz". Bright (Jeremiah, p. 322) correctly observes that "they (i. e. vss. 45-47) are composed in good part of snatches of very ancient poems."

7. The terms שריד and שארית are frequent stylistic synonyms. Cp.:

Nu. 21:35 (=Dt. 3:3, 2K. 10:11):	עד בלתי השאיר לו שריד
Jer. 44:7	לבלתי הותיר לכם שארית
Isa. 1:9	לולי ... הותיר לנו שריד

8. The following subject-referents are to be found occurring with √'abd:

(a)	(דרך/תקוה/תאוה) רשעים; צדיק/חסיד
(b)	זכר; תורה; תוחלת; עצה; אמונה
(c)	קציר; מנוס

9. Opinions for an early dating of Ju. 5 border on consensus: cf. already W. F. Albright, "The Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse", JPOS 2 (1922); G. Gerleman, "The Song of Deborah..." V T 1 (1951) pp. 168-180.

10. Cf. Ugaritic (Gordon, UM, 68:8, 9):

ht 'ibk b'lm
ht 'ibk tmḫṣ

Cf. also Krt:21-2 y'n ḥtkh krt
y'n ḥtkh rš

11. The prototype of this expression may be: Nu. 24:19 (23): עדי אבד Cf. Ug. 'd paralleled by Acc. adi. The final short e-vowel would likely have disappeared by the time of the Deuteronomist, except perhaps as an archaism.

12. The motif occurs in situ in 30:18, the conclusion of the "covenantal-curses". The covenant-setting is internally evidenced by העדתי : cf. Sefiré עדי (=berīt); Akk. adē ("oaths").

13. Deuteronomy is generally considered to have taken its final shape in the 7th century: Cf. the various O. T. Introductions and R. Frankena, OTS 15 (1965), pp. 122-154. Yet recent study (e. g. Mendenhall, Law and Covenant..., The Biblical Colloquium (1955); D. J. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant) has shown that this date in no way can be applied to all of the materials therein contained.

14. The existence at one time or another of such a literature is established by scattered references to and quotations from Sēfer Milḥamot Yahweh and possibly Sēfer ha-yāšār. In the case of Deuteronomy, von Rad (Studies in Deuteronomy) has argued convincingly for the revival of the "Holy War Ideology" by the author(s), which revival he places in the time of Josiah.

15. Recall the parallelistic use of √krt -- √ʾabd.

16. In the recently discovered Psalter fragments at Masada, the reading is: אלהי אדום. Cf. Y. Yadin, IEJ 15 (1965), pp. 103-114. But this reading is against both MT and LXX. According to the M-R interpretation, the nations here mentioned are "historicized Chaos-foes". Like Ps. 60 - which also shows strong O. A. N. affinities - Ps. 83. is classified as 'nationalen Klagepsalm'. Cf. Bernhardt, Königideologie, p. 221; p. 267, n. 1

17. Though inflected as √ybš, the predicate here and in 48:1 is the equivalent of √bwš (cp. similarly Jer. 2:26). There would appear to be a contamination of roots. Note that there is no waw in the customary position of initial - yod verbs in Hiph'il formation, suggesting that the contamination may be massoretic.

18. For text, translation, and commentary, cf. Cooke, NSI, pp. 1ff; Donner-Röllig, K-AI, Bd. I, no. 181; Bd. II, pp. 168-179. For translation and commentary, cf. A. van Zyl, The Moabites, pp. 189ff; ANET, p. 320. Cf. also Cross-Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography, pp. 36-44.

19. Cf. Donner-Röllig, op. cit., No's 222-224; Fitzmyer, JAOS (1961) for text, translation and commentary. The editio princeps of A. Dupont-Sommer was not at my disposal. The texts are 8th century. The citations are from Fitzmyer.

20. Cf. Cooke, NSI 64, 65; Donner-Röllig, op. cit., No's 225-226. The inscriptions are 7th century.

21. Cf. ANET, pp. 499-502.

22. Donner-Röllig (op. cit. p. 173) comment on the words as follows:

> Konstruktion entweder gemäss dem Hebr. Inf. abs. mit folgendem Verbum finitum zur Verstörkung des Verbalbegriffes... dann steht עלם für לעלם wie z. B. Ps. 89. 2, 3. 38. Oder אבד עלם (So correct typographical error: עבד) ist eine constructus - Verbindung wozu Jer. 51, 39 zu vergleichen wäre.

The authors draw attention to Jer. 25:17, but not Nu. 21: My inclination is to view אבד as Qal 3 m. s. perfect in a repetitive parallelistic construction: a-b // b-c.

23. Cf. Cooke, op. cit., p. 8.

24. It is possibly significant that the Mošlim-Song in Nu. 21 appears similarly as a poetic fragment embedded in what is otherwise historical narrative. Note similarly the Song-of-the-Well in the same chapter. The Mošlim-Song itself appears to be of non-Israelite, Transjordanian origin: Cf. van Zyl, op. cit., pp. 41-2; below, "Lament...". Cf. also, above, p. 115, note 2.

25. Der Maschal im A. T. (1913).

26. It may be worth recalling that the geographical setting of both the Mošlim Song and the Balaam Lays is identical with that of the Mesha Inscription.

27. In: iB36 - (?) אבדת אנגדא ; iiB7 ולאבדת אשמהם ; iiC5 (in text).

28. Cf. Mendenhall, op. cit., McCarthy, op. cit., Baltzer, Das Bundesformular (1960).

29. Cf. above, note 4. Possibly a parallel development is the use of the Balaam Lays as "blessings".

30. Cf. immediately, discussion of Nérab material; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 123, n. 30 writes:

> These 'litanies' of curses and blessings are self-contained and look like the kind of thing that could be used for various occasions.

Elsewhere (p. 69) the author draws attention to parallels between imprecations found in treaties, building inscriptions, and boundary-stones (kudurru).

Finally, it should not be overlooked that there is a mantic "curse" or "blessing" element inherent in prophecy itself. The pronouncements of Balaam and the prophecies of the patriarchs were interpreted by tradition as "blessing" and "curse", and this without any apparent relation to "covenant".

31. Already observed by Cooke (op. cit., note ad loc.), apparently overlooked by Donner-Röllig (op. cit., II, p. 275).

IV. "Lament" - motifs in the O. A. N.

A. The prominence of "Lament" - or Qînāh - elements in the O. A. N. collections was long ago observed by biblical scholars.[1] In addition to such typical Qînāh expressions as "hôi", "êkh(ah)", "√qrḥ", and "√spd" are to be found full-length descriptions of the "mourning-ritual" (e.g. Isa. 15:1f; Ez. 27:30-33). Our interest, however, is less in the Qînāh - elements per se, but rather in their significance for understanding the nature of the O. A. N. tradition and for establishing the literary origins of that tradition.

Our choice of the "wailing-motif" as an instance and illustration of Qînāh - influence is motivated by the following considerations:

(a) Its prominence in the O. A. N. tradition.

(b) Its stereotyped usage.

(c) Its value as a stylistic and literary-tradition link with the Mošlim-tradition, the ultimate source of Qînāh-elements in the O. A. N.

B. The stylistic evidence for the "wailing-motif" is:

1.	Jer.	48:1	כי שֻׁדְּדָה עי	הוי אל נבו
		49:3	כי שֻׁדְּדָה עי	הילילו חשבון
	Isa.	23:1	כי שֻׁדַּד מבית מבוא	הילילו אניות תרשיש
		23:14	כי שֻׁדַּד מעזכן	הילילו אניות תרשיש
2.	Jer.	25:36	ויללת אדירי הצאן	קול צעקת הרעים
		51:54	כי שֹׁדֵד ד׳ את מרעיתם כי שֹׁדֵד ד׳ את בבל	קול זעקה מבבל

The points to be observed are:

(a) The stylistic variants for expressing "wailing":
√yll, "hôi",[3] "(qôl) ṣ/zĕ ʿaqāh"

(b) The combination with √šdd

The examples cited in (1), however, evidence still another distinguishing feature, suggesting that we are dealing with a literary stereotype. In all four instances we find "kî √šdd" with √šdd in the puʿal formation.[4] This structural and morphological identity is all the more significant in the light of:

(i) the occurrences of the examples in different O. A. N. collections;

(ii) their occurence in Jeremiah in chapters where the use of ancient literary materials can be clearly demonstrated.[5]

The suggestion of a stereotyped usage is further re-inforced by the examples cited in (2). In Jer. 25:36, the status of "qôl ṣ^{e} aqah" as a stylistic variant is established by the parallelistic usage of √yll.[6] The √šdd is similarly preceded by the particle "kî". Instead, however, of the pu'al form of √šdd, we find a Qal-active: šōded. There is little doubt, however, that the latter represents a case of stylistic "breakdown", a conclusion rendered all the more certain by the following comparison:

Jer. 25:36 קול צעקת הרעים ויללת אדירי הצאן
כי שדד ד' את מרעיתם

Zech. 11:3 קול יללת הרעים כי שדדה אדרתם

Though not itself O. A. N., the Zech. passage is clearly a reflex of the stereotyped expression under discussion: the combination of "(qôl) √yll" and √šdd makes this certain. Its stylistic affinities to Jer. 25:36 are clearer still, even if the question of "dependency" cannot be decided with complete certainty.[7] But more significant for our purposes is the evidence of the Zech. passage for the pu'al form of √šdd: it serves to establish at once the stereotyped form of √šdd in the "wailing-motif" as pu'al and the stylistic connection of Jer. 25:36, 51:54 with the stereotype.[8] For whatever its chronological relation to Jer. 25:36, Zech. 11:3 stands stylistically midway between the examples in (1) and those in (2), at least with regard to the √šdd segment of the stereotype.[9]

The stereotyped character of the "wailing - √šdd" combination is further illustrated by the following passage;

Isa. 15:1-2

כי בליל שדד ...
כי בליל שדד ...
(על ניבו ועל מידבא מואב יילילי)

Isa. 15-16 is at once the locus of numerous Qînāh-features and ancient literary materials.[10] The "wailing-motif" is attested above as well as in 16:7. What is peculiar to Isa. 15:1, however, is the expression: בליל שֹׁדַד , twice represented. Seen in connection with √yll-√šdd it is clear that " בליל שֹׁדַד " is a paranomasian rendering of the "wailing"-stereotype. The significance of this fact is not only as an indication of poetic dexterity, but the confirmation it provides at once for the existence of a √yll-√šdd stereotype and for its relative antiquity. We may profitably recall a similar phenomenon in the case of Amos' rendering of the "fire-stereotype."[11] Such paranomasian tours de force invariably presuppose the existence of a commonly-known literary stereotype or idiom.

Moreover, if recent conclusions regarding Isa. 15-16 are accepted,[12] there is every reason to believe that the √yll-√šdd stereotype is not only pre-Isaianic, but considerably so. Before undertaking to trace the origin of this expression, we must consider the significance of Qînāh - elements generally in the O. A. N. tradition on the basis of internal evidence provided by this tradition.

C. The role played by Qînāh-motifs in the O. A. N. is not difficult to discern: the definition is provided by the tradition itself.

Jer. 48:39

איך חתה הילילו
איך הפנה ערף מואב בוש
והיה מואב לשחק
ולמחתה לכל סביביו

(cf. also Jer. 48:27.)

The term śehôq is here combined with what are otherwise typical Qînāh-elements: "êkh"[13] and √yll. It suggests accordingly that the force of Qînāh in the O. A. N. is "mockery" and "taunt".[14] The confirmation of this suggestion is provided by non-O. A. N. prophetic contexts:

Mic. 2:4

ביום ההוא... ישא עליכם משל
ונהה נהי נהיה
אמר שדוד נשדנו

Hab. 2:6

הלא אלה כלם עליו משל ישאו...
ויאמר הוי המרבה לא-לו

Both passages evidence the synonymous usage of māšāl and what are otherwise Qînāh-elements: "n^{e}hî" and "hôi".[15] Note also the use of √šdd in Mic. 2:4. Now the meaning of māšāl in these contexts was long-ago established as "taunt",[16] characteristically

indicated by the device of "direct-quotation".[17] The connection with O. A. N. usage of Qînāh is established by the "subject" - and "object-referents" of the above passages respectively: in Mic. 2:4, it is the foreign-nations--conceived of as a collective singular-- who will taunt Israel; in Hab. --more characteristically O. A. N.[18] -- foreign peoples, possibly rulers,[19] mock the fallen Empire-state.

This identification of śᵉḥôq-māšāl on the one hand, and both with Qînāh forms and expressions is an important step in establishing the literary origins not only of Qînāh-motifs in the O. A. N., but the literary prototype of the O. A. N. as a whole. Previous discussion has pointed to the ancient war-literature -- and, specifically, the Mošlim tradition -- as the literary sources and prototype of the O. A. N.; it will be our objective in the following discussion to establish this hypothesis on seemingly unshakeable ground.

D. In an important monograph published some fifty-three years ago,[20] O. Eissfeldt successfully argues for a number of conclusions extremely relevant to this discussion, and indeed, this study. Directing his attention to the Song of the Mošlim[21] and prophetic "lament" -- Isa. 14, 37; Ez. 27-28 -- the author concludes:

(a) the Song of the Mošlim is quintessentially a "taunt - song" (Spottlied).[22]

(b) It represents a fragmentary preservation of a taunt-literature, a literature which flowered in Israel during the period of early conquest.[23]

(c) The term māšāl was the technical term for this genre, the term "mošlim" a designation of the creators and bearers of this literary genre.[24]

As concerns the taunt-literature preserved in prophetic sources, Eissfeldt noted that it takes the form of "mock-lament" (e. g.) Isa. 14, 37: Ez. 27-28, 32. He was further impressed by the fact that:

(a) such ironic-laments were confined in their application to foreign nations and rulers.

(b) that they seemed to predominate in exilic and post-exilic sources, the major witness being Ezekiel.

He was thus led to conclude that this type of literature "zunachst bei den. sog. 'Heilspropheten'... bestanden haben wird" and that the "patriotische Fanatismus" of the exilic and post-exilic periods was the primary motive for its development.[25]

Yet Eissfeldt remained equivocal on a crucial point:

> Ob diese spöttische Leichenlied im Volke längst üblich war und von den Propheten nur übernommen ist, oder ob diese Form des Spottliedes erst eine Schöpfung der Propheten ist, wird sich mit Sicherheit nichtsagen lassen. Wahrscheinlich ist nur, dass auch hier die Propheten bereits Vorgefundenes aufnehmen.[26]

Eissfeldt harbored no doubts regarding the antiquity -- and pre-prophetic origin -- of "taunt" and "lament" genres respectively;[27] what remained unresolved was the origin of their combination.

I find much to agree with in Eissfeldt's aforementioned study, particularly what concerns the Mošlim and ancient taunt-literature. However some of the conclusions pertaining to the prophetic - taunt are open to serious question, stemming from the author's failure to draw a basic distinction[28] between "early" and "late" mock-lament features in the O. A. N. Similarly, the equivocation regarding the origins of prophetic mock-lament results from the author having overlooked an important characteristic of the ancient taunt - material. We shall begin with the latter point.

1.

a. A crucial oversight with regard to the ancient taunt-literature was the failure to observe therein the use of lament-motifs:[29]

Nu. 21:29 אוי לך מואב אבדת עם כמוש

Nu. 24:23[30] [31] אוי מי יחיה משמו אל

The term הוי- variant אוי - is, as we have seen, a typical "wailing" and Qînāh term. The combination in Nu. 21 of "wailing" and √ʾabd is admittedly not stereotyped in the O. A. N. tradition, though √šdd appears as a stylistic variant of √ʾabd.[32] In one source, however -- which, though not O. A. N., is clearly a reflex of the stereotyped O. A. N. "wailing - motif" -- the √ʾabd does occur as a variant for √šdd in combination with "wailing":

Joel 1:10-11

שדד שדה ...
כי שדד דגן ...
הובישו אכרים הילילו כרמים
כי אבד קציר שדה

The foregoing Nu.'s examples establish, accordingly, both the fusion of "taunt" and Qînāh motifs as well as the literary origin for the "wailing-motif" in the O. A. N., an origin all the more likely in view of the taunt-usage of the motif in the O. A. N. What we miss in these

examples, however, is the √šdd. For evidence of √šdd we must turn to another ancient literary source whose affinity with the "taunt-tradition" has been noted previously:[33]

Ju. 5:27 בין רגליה כרע נפל שכב
בין רגליה כרע נפל
באשר כרע שם נפל שדוד

The poet in these lines is describing the demise of Sisera, which demise is all the more ignominious in virtue of its having occurred at the hand of a woman.[34] The taunt-character of this passage is thus certain. It is therefore of some significance that the √npl occurs no less than three times, a term whose employment in non-ironic laments is readily demonstrated:

2 Sam. 1:19, 25, 27 איך נפלו גבורים

Am. 5:2 נפלה לא תוסיף קום

To this, may now be added the evidence of √šdd, the characteristic accompaniment of the "wailing-motif" in the O. A. N.

b.

The antiquity of the literary connection of Qînāh and māšāl demonstrated above is further corroborated by an "institutional" link between the respective exponents of these genres. In this discussion of the Sitz-im-Leben of the Moslim Song, Eissfeldt observed:[35]

> Nach dem errungenen Siege wird ein Freudenfest gefeiert... Da mögen die משלים angetreten sein und ihre Lieder vorgetragen haben, und neben dem Siegeslied wird das Spottlied nich gefehlt haben.

Eissfeldt supports this hypothesis by referring to the young women who are said to have welcomed the victorious soldiers returning from battle (Ex. 15:20; 1 Sam. 18:7; to this should be added the evidence of Ju. 11:34). It is submitted, however, that Eissfeldt failed to extract the full significance of this comparison between the Mošlim and the "rejoicing women".

(i) In 1 Sam. 18:7, these women are referred to as: הנשים המשחקות The designation carries with it the ring of a technical term for a guild-like group, not unlike the term מקוננות (Jer. 9:16; Ez. 32:6). Additional support for this conclusion can be gleaned from:

Jer. 30:19 ... קול משחקים

31:14 ויצאת במחול משחקים

The references in Jeremiah differ only in the masculine, rather than feminine, form of the term; yet an allusion to female participation is evident in 31:14.

The full significance of this conclusion for our discussion emerges when it is recalled that the √משחק--- from which are formed משחקים, משחקות --- is the very same term found in the O. A. N.[36] with a meaning identical with "māšāl" and denoting "taunt". There is thus good reason to suppose that these משחקים or משחקות are none other than the Mošlim; to both one could justly apply Eissfeldt's definition of "poets of triumph - and taunt-song."[37]

This conclusion, however, while strengthening the ground for Eissfeldt's Sitz-im-Leben hypothesis, does not itself answer the question posed by the latter, viz. the pre-prophetic connection of "taunt" and "lament" in the ancient period.[38] This link -- in institutional terms -- is provided by the well-known ancient Near Eastern phenomenon of professional "wailing-women", termed in the O. T.: מקוננות[39]. Like the משחקים/-ות, this group was primarily, though not exclusively,[40] female in composition. Now it is a priori likely that the role of the mošlim-meśahaqîm in the victory camp was paralleled by that of the měqônenôt in the defeated one. Moreover, since in the very nature of things, no people could claim a monopoly on victories, it is not impossible that one and the same group were trained both as מקוננות and משחקות.[41] This in turn, would plausibly account for the literary affinities between "taunt" and "lament": the intermingling and transference of motifs and expressions would be entirely understandable.

The limits of our O. T. evidence compel this resort to abstract reasoning; extra-biblical material, while in no way conclusive for the matter under discussion, lend a degree of concrete plausibility.

(ii) It has been suggested[42] that in Ugaritic as well as Accadian literature there is to be found a similar correspondence of professional "wailing" -- or "mourning" -- women to "rejoicing" or "singing-women". The phenomenon of "mourning-women" is otherwise so well attested in the ancient Near East[43] as to leave little room for doubting that such is the meaning of Ugaritic bkyt / mšspdt (1 Aqht 171/2 (=183/4)). More problematic, however, are the "rejoicing women": Gordon[44] is quite certain that such essentially are the ktrt -- O. T. כושרות -- which he renders, accordingly, "female jubilantes".[45] He compares not only O. T. כושרות -- which comparison, however, offers no additional information -- but also Accadian šamhati, Latin Carmentes.[46]

Such an interpretation provides a striking parallel not only to the משחקות[47] but also to the intimate relationship -- suggested above -- between משחקות and מקוננות. For on one occassion, the ktrt and bkyt are referred to in almost identical language:

1. Aqht: 171-2 ʿrb bkyt bhklh
   mšspdt bḫẓrh

2. Aqht:II: 26-7 ʿrb bbth ktrt
   bnt hll snnt

Unfortunately, however, we are not told what services the ktrt render which entitles them to a week of galafeasting free of charge. The one reference to the role of the ktrt (77:5-6) connects them with child-birth and midwifery.[48]

Accordingly, one cannot but ask what the evidence is for designating the ktrt "jubilantes" or "songstresses", since:

(a) there is no explicit mention of "singing" in connection with the ktrt.

(b) the epithet bnt hll (snnt) -- which Gordon hesitantly renders "daughters of shouting"[49] -- is a crux interpretum, not unlike Hēlal of Is. 14.[50]

(c) the sole witness to a specific function performed by the ktrt (77:5-6) deals with child-birth, though Gordon has noted a similar role of the Carmentes, whose connection with "song" is undeniable.[51]

In brief, an interpretation of the ktrt as "jubilantes" or "songstresses" -- parallel to the professional "mourning-women" -- certainly strengthens the previously-stated hypothesis regarding the O. T. משחקות and מקוננות.[52] However, such an interpretation -- the authoritative concurrence of numerous scholars notwithstanding--must be considered--in the light of present evidence--unproven.[53]

2.

On the subject of taunting-lament in the prophetic tradition, Eissfeldt correctly observed its locus classicus as lying in the O. A. N. tradition. Yet, in this respect, he failed to draw the basic distinction between taunt-lament features in the early strata of O. A. N. material and full-blown taunt-laments in the later - predominantly exilic - strata (e. g. Ezekiel).

a. A good illustration of this point is the "wailing-motif" itself. It will be recalled that the stereotyped expression of this motif was found largely in Isa. 15-16, 23; Jer. 48, 49. In Jer. 25:36 and 51:34 the stereotype was already in the process of "break-down". Now it

is certainly significant that not a single witness to the wailing - stereotype can be found in Ezekiel, where the taunt-lament is otherwise so prominent. It is,accordingly, impossible that this motif - stereotype should have originated in the exilic period, a conclusion implied by Eissfeldt's verdict on the prophetic mock-lament. Rather, we must conclude that -- what concerns the wailing motif -- the origin is to be sought in a much earlier -- and, as the Mošlim material demonstrates, pre-prophetic -- period.

b. A similar conclusion can be drawn via another line of reasoning. In his Einleitung,[54] Eissfeldt observed that in the classical - prophetic period, Drohung—or "threat" — seemed to replace Spott — or "taunt" — in the prophetic material dealing with foreign nations, though "diese Drohungen gegen die fremden Völker ja recht oft Motive des Spottliedes aufweisen." As evidence for such "taunt-motifs", he cites Isa. 37, 47; the latter is clearly exilic, the former in all likelihood so.[55] But the wailing-motif is at once a "taunt-motif" and pre-exilic: if, then, the hypothesis of a "taunt" > "threat" development is correct -- and the weight of the O. A. N. evidence as a whole suggests that it is[56] -- then the very existence of a wailing-stereotype suggests that it represents part of a literary substratum within the O. A. N., a substratum dating back to the pre-classical period.

c. What, then, is the significance of the large amount of taunt-lament materials in indisputably exilic sources? Elsewhere in this study[57] we intend to demonstrate that such Qînāh - compositions as Ez. 28, 32 — as well as Isa. 14, 37—represent an O. A. N. sub-type — which we have designated O. A. F. R. (Oracles against Foreign Rulers) — a sub-type which developed apparently in the exilic period. Its distinguishing characteristic is the use of mythological materials woven into elaborate allegories and directed at the foreign ruler. Such compositions are designated either Qînāh (Ez. 28, 32) or māšāl (Is. 14); form-critically, however, they are identical. They are, furthermore, clearly distinguishable from the ancient specimens of this literature: the stamp of classical prophecy is indelibly imprinted upon them.

d. The development of "taunt" and mock-lament motifs in the O. A. N. tradition may accordingly be reconstructed as follows:

(i) An ancient taunt-tradition which featured -- inter alia -- the use of Qînāh-motifs, including that of "wailing".

(ii) The absorption of this tradition by that of the O. A. N. and the formation of the "wailing" - stereotype.

(iii) The "taunt-elements" recede into the background as the O. A. N. tradition gradually takes on more characteristic prophetic dress: "motivation" (Begründung), "threat of punishment" (Drohung or Gerichtsankündigung), "messenger formula" (Botenformel) etc.

(iv) The revival of the taunt-tradition consequent to the emergence of a new type of foreign-oracle, the O. A. F. R.

E.

1. The "wailing-motif" is thus seen as final confirmation of our hypothesis concerning the literary origins of the O. A. N. The O. A. N. tradition is ultimately the literary successor to Israel's ancient war-literature, and especially the Mošlim tradition that doubtless formed an important part of that literature.[58]

It is, however, impossible to account for the ultimate absorption of the Mošlim tradition into prophetic literature -- as represented by the O. A. N. -- without the realization that:

(a) The Mošlim tradition was very early considered "prophetic" and bears "prophetic characteristics."[59] This can be seen in the fact that Balaam is a prophetic figure, and the term נאם -- the prophetic trademark -- occurs repeatedly in Nu. 23-24.[60]

(b) The institutional role of pre-classical prophecy which renders intelligible its interest in -- and concern for -- this tradition.

The latter observation will be more fully elaborated in the final portion of this study. Here we need note only that pre-classical prophecy is essentially court-prophecy and, consequent thereto, war- and cult-centered. It is this fact that provides the final link connecting the two poles that Eissfeldt could not connect: the ancient and the prophetic taunt respectively.

2. We thus bring to a close our discussion of O. A. N. motifs and stereotypes, though not presuming thereby to have exhausted the matter. Our attention now turns from the question of pre-prophetic origins to the prophetic character of the tradition: specifically, the technical term maśśa' and "motivation" characteristics. Our purpose here is to define the O. A. N.'s relation to "classical prophecy" by pointing to the typical as well as a-typical prophetic features.

NOTES TO THE "WAILING - MOTIF"

1. Already noted by Eissfeldt, Der Maschal im A. T. (1913), pp. 67-69, on whose keen insights I have liberally drawn in the course of this study. Cf. also Hedwig-Jahnow, Das hebraische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung (1923).

2. Since the exact location of Transjordanian ʿAi is unknown - cf. Simon, Geog. and Topog. Texts... - the possible historical significance of its mention in connection both with Moab and Ammon is rendered nil.

3. The proof-texts for "hôi" and "√yll" as lament-terms are Jer. 22:18 (cf. also 34:5): לא יספדו לו הוי אחי ...
4:8 חגרו שקים ספדו והיללו
Recently, Gerstenberger (JBL 81 (1962), 249-263) has questioned the "mourning" setting for some of the prophetic oracles - esp. Isaiah 5 -- beginning with "woe". His choice is the wisdom-circles. Counter-theses are propounded by Westermann (op. cit., pp. 137ff) and, now, G. Wanke (ZAW, 78 (1966), pp. 215-218. The former argues for a "curse" - origin, the latter for a "dirge" - origin.

4. Of the 55 O. T. occurrences of (verbal) √sdd, no less than 24 are in the O. A. N. Of 20 passages evidencing pu'al occurrences of √sdd, 9 are "pure" O. A. N., 4 likely reflect O. A. N. influence (Joel 1:10, Zech. 11:2, 3, Isa. 33:1), 2 are in formal laments (Jer. 4:13, 9:18).

5. Cf. above, discussion of √ʾabd; Diman-Haran, BIES (1947); W. Rudolph, in Hebrew and Semitic Studies (G. R. Driver Festschrift), pp. 130-143.

6. Cf. also Jer. 25:34 הילילו הרעים וזעקו
47:2c וזעק האדם
והילל כל ישבי ארץ

In Nah. 3:7, we read: ואמר שָׁדְדָה נינוה מי ינוד לה.
√nwd is similarly a lament-term (e.g. Jer. 16:5). On the basis of the stereotyped usage, שדדה is perhaps to be re-pointed as pu'al.

7. On the one hand, " אדרתם " -- whatever its precise meaning (=orig. " עדרתם " with mispelling due to the laryngals no longer being pronounced?) -- seems to reflect a stylistic conflation of מרעיתם - אדירי (הצאן) . On the other hand, applying the principle of "break-up", the unistrophic form of Zech. 11:3 would suggest priority: "qôl yil^{e}lat hārōʿim" >

qôl ṣaʿaqat hārôʿim
yil^{e}lat ʾadîrê haṣṣōʾn

8. With Jer. 51:54, cp. Ps. 137:8: בת בבל השדודה

9. A further illustration of stylistic "breakdown" involving the stereotype is: Joel 1:10 הילילו כרמים ...
כי אבד קציר שדה

Note the substitution for √šdd by the characteristic O. A. N. term √ʾabd as well as the two occurrences of √šdd -- in puʿal form -- in verse 10.

10. Cf. 16:13: זה הדבר אשר דבר ד׳ אל מואב מאז.

See bibliography in note 5.

11. Cf. Amos 4:3 and "Fire-motif" above.

12. Diman-Haran, op. cit.; Rudolph, op. cit.

13. Cf. Lam. 1:1 and passim; Am. 5:1; 2 Sam. 1.

14. The possibility of an undercurrent of "sympathetic magic" -- i. e. an attempt to bring about a desired state of affairs by assuming in word or action that it is already in effect -- is not hereby precluded. Cf. Eissfeldt, Einleitung..., (3rd. ed.) pp. 75-76.

15. Ibid., p. 111, n. 1; above, n. 3.

16. Idem., Maschal, pp. 52ff.

17. Cf. √abd--discussion, above; Part IV, "The O. A. F. R.", below.

18. Cf. Isa. 14:17

19. Cf. Isa. 14:10, 16; Ez. 28:17.

20. Der Maschal im A. T. (1913). Some of the conclusions pertaining to our study are conveniently summarized in his Einleitung..., "Spottlied und Leichenlied".

21. Maschal, pp. 52-69.

22. Ibid., pp. 54-55. Cf. also A. R. Johnson, in VT Supplement III, pp. 162-169, and especially p. 166.

23. Maschal, pp. 52-53. In his Einleitung (op. cit.), p. 110, Eissfeldt notes the probable extra-Israelite origin of this literary genre. However, no evidence is presented.

24. Maschal, p. 52. Eissfeldt defines the Mošlim as (p. 54 n. 5) "Dichter von Triumph- und Spottliedern". For the semantic connection between "māšāl" = "proverb" and "māšāl" = "taunt", cf. Einleitung, p. 106. The relation -- if any -- to √mšl = "rule; govern" is unclear.

25. Ibid., p. 69.

26. Ibid., p. 67.

27. As evidence for the antiquity of the "lament", he cites 2 Sam. 1. Cf. Einleitung, pp. 109-110.

28. Cf. shortly below, pp. 188-189.

29. Cf. Westermann, op. cit., p. 140.

30. One ought to recall at this point the frequent use of √nś' mšl in Nu. 23-24.

31. Albright (The Oracles of Balaam, op. cit) interprets "משמו אל" as "משמאל" = "north". Perhaps better: "משמאל" = "Śam'al".

32. Cf. above, √'abd-motif.

33. Cf. above, √'abd - motif, p.158 . Cf. also Eissfeldt, Einleitung, p. 108; Maschal, p. 55.

34. Cf. Ju. 11:54.

35. Maschal, p. 55.

36. Jer. 48:27, 39; cf. above, p. 177.

37. Maschal, p. 54, n. 5. For the problem of Ug. ktrt, cf. immediately below. The likelihood of a neighboring Philistine counterpart in the early Iron Age is suggested by 2 Sam. 1:21:

פן תשמחנה בנות פלשתים פן תעלזנה בנות הערלים

38. The a priori connection is clear to Eissfeldt: cf. Einleitung, p. 105.

39. Ug. bkyt/mšspdt; Akk. bakittu; Hittite taptaruš. Cf. also the "wailing women" pictured on the Ahiram sarcophagus and on certain Egyptian reliefs (de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 59).

40. Cf. 2 Chron. 35:25 and the attribution to David and Jeremiah of 2 Sam. 1 and Lamentations respectively. Note also the reference to "wailing men" beside "wailing women" in The Descent of Ištar, l. 58 (ANET, p. 109).

41. Cp. similarly the בנות פלשתים (2 Sam. 1:20) with בנות הגוים (Ez. 32:16); also the רֵעוֹת of Jephtah's daughter who appear first as "rejoicing" then as "wailing" women.

42. Gordon, UM, #17:10; Glossary, s.v. ktrt.

43. Cf. note 37, above.

44. Op. cit., idem.

45. Cf. also T. H. Gaster (Thespis, p. 162): "professional song-stresses"; Albright (ARI[4], p. 82): "women singers".

46. UM Glossary, op. cit.

47. Since "kôšārôth" in Ps. 68:7 is a hapax and the context itself enigmatic, it hardly seems worthwhile to speculate as to the connection - if any - between them and the " משחקות ". If Gordon's interpretation is correct, however, one is tempted to posit the "kôšārôth" as the heavenly -- or mythical -- counterpart to the terrestial" משחקות ".

48. Aisleitner (Wörterbuch..., s.v. "ktrt") cites this as the definitive trait of the "ktrt": "Götterinnen die bes. bei der Geburt behilflich sind." He makes no mention of "singing".

49. UL, p. 65.

50. There is more justification for interpreting Hēlal as "the glittering one" rather than the "shouter": cf. Acc. ellētu, "shining". Also, Greek "φαέθω " -- "glitter" -- is the root of "Phaeton", the Greek counterpart of Hēlal ben Šaḥar: cf. Grelot, RHR (1956); Astour, Hellenosemitica (1965), pp. 138-39, 268-69; also "O. A. F. R.", below.

51. UM Glossary, op. cit. The evidence of Acc. "šamḫati"--cited by Gordon as a parallel--is similarly inconclusive. The reference in the Descent of Istar, noted by Gordon, is rendered by Speiser (ANET, p. 109, line 50) "courtesans"; so too in Gilgamesh I, iii:40-iv.

52. For a discussion of female "cultic-singers" at Ugarit, cf. A. F. Rainey, BA XXVIII (1965), p. 124. Albright (ARI, p. 127) sees the "wise men" of I K. 5:11 as "members of the orchestral guild" (בני מחול). The combination of "music" and "wisdom" -- in I Chron. 25:2-3, 5; II Chron. 29:30, also "prophecy" -- is most suggestive of the Mošlim.

53. Albright (ARI[4], pp. 81-82) goes so far as to suggest that the "ktrt" received their name from "Ktr-w-Ḫss" and that "Koshar was the discoveror and patron of music." Prima facie support for this hypothesis regarding "Koshar" is the etymological connection of P-S "q-y-n" --"smith"-- and Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopic words for "sing, chant a dirge" from the same root. (cf. Gaster, op. cit., p. 162; already Ginsberg, BASOR 72, pp. 13-15).

54. Einleitung, pp. 106-107 (=O. T. Introduction, p. 93).

55. Cf. Commentaries ad loc.; "O. A. F. R.", below.

56. Cf. the discussion of "Motivation" below where we attempt to demonstrate the gradual "prophetisation" along "classical" lines of the O. A. N. tradition.

57. "The O. A. F. R.", below.

58. Cf. Eissfeldt, Maschal, p. 54: "Das'Buch der Kriege Jahwes' mag so zum grossen Teil aus Spottliedern bestanden haben... Hierher gehört auch das Triumph- und Spottlied auf die Besiegung des Königs Sihon."

59. Cf. Y. Kaufmann, op. cit., III, p. 43.

CHAPTER III - THE TERM "MAŚŚA' "

I. Introduction

Students of the O. T. have long differed in their interpretation of this term, while the variety of renderings to be found in the ancient versions -- especially the LXX and other Greek witnesses -- is ample testimony to the antiquity of the problem.[1] The - at least - *prima facie* connection of *maśśa'* with foreign-nation prophecies has not gone unobserved.[2] It is, furthermore, generally agreed that the term is a *maqtāl* form of the √*nśa'* and, in its prophetic employment, normally a technical term equivalent to "oracle".[3] At issue is the precise rendering of this *terminus technicus* and its implications, both semantic and form-critical. The problem derives from two principal sources: the differences of nuance, if not outright ambiguity, in the √*nśa'* -- "raise up; carry, bear" -- as well as the many idiomatic expressions involving this verb.[4]

On one view,[5] *maśśa'* means "utterance", an interpretation usually derived from the idiomatic use of √*nśa'* (= "raise up") with *qôl*[6] (e.g., Gen. 29:1, 11; Isa. 52:8), an idiom now attested in Ugaritic.[7] A related variant of this view is R. B. Y. Scott's suggestion[8] that, while derived from √*nśa'* = "raise up", prophetic *maśśa'* reflects not the idiom "√*nśa'* *qôl*", but rather the idiom "√*nśa'* *yd*" -- "swear; take an oath"[9] --

and refers to the "curse" aspect of the doom — oracles with which maśśa' is generally associated.

The interpretation of "maśśa'" based on √nśa' = "raise up" encounters severe opposition from proponents of "maśśa' = burden", based on √nśa' = "to carry, bear".[10] Gehman, in particular, makes a strong case for this view:

> In prophecy... the word [maśśa'] developed a technical sense and probably the rendering burden is the best translation of משא since it represents literally the Hebrew word and at the same time allows us to read into the word all that is implied in the Hebrew... it is decidedly preferable to oracle or prophetic utterance[11]...

de Boer[12] makes the additional point that the absence of the expression "maśśa' qôl" in O. T. Hebrew is decisive against any attempt at deriving maśśa' from √nśa' qôl.

In the course of his discussion, Gehman notes the connection between prophetic maśśa' and the idiomatic use of √nśa' in Nu. 23-24:

> ... suggestive of the prophetic משא is the combination of נשא and משל in the Balaam episode... Many of these parables contain the idea of catastrophe or destruction, and the atmosphere of sublimity and of authority is present in them all.[13]

A still closer parallel to prophetic maśśa', according to Gehman, is the use of √nśa' with the preposition על "with the suggestion of a

threat, calamity, or lamentation."[14] The relevance of this usage lies in the fact that maśśa' "as used in prophecy suggests the idea of catastrophe, destruction, threat, punishment or the judgement of God..."[15]

This latter statement is a correct and important form-critical observation: it would appear that maśśa' is the only prophetic term which is, by definition and without further qualification, an oracle of doom.[16] The significance of this term, accordingly, may well go beyond the O.A.N. tradition with which it is so intimately connected.

Furthermore, the connection of prophetic maśśa', Nu. 23-24, and the idiomatic use of עַל (and אֶל) is a point well-taken, though Gehman has hardly scratched the surface in his analysis of this relationship. It is in the unravelling of this relationship in the light of the perspective of the O.A.N. gained in the course of our study thus far that the solution of the problem is to be sought.

II. O.A.N. Maśśa'

The word maśśa' in the O.A.N. tradition is invariably a term of introduction. It is so found in Nah. 1:1, Hab. 1:1, Zech. 9:1, but especially in Isa. 13-23 where the term occurs some ten times, all but once in direct juxtaposition with a foreign nation or locality.[17] The highly stereotyped employment of the term is easily seen from the following examples:[18]

Isa. 13:1	משא בבל ...	19:1	משא מצרים ...
15:1	משא מואב...	23:1	משא צר ...
17:1	משא דמשק...		

The pattern is slightly altered in the case of Hab. 1:1 where the term maśśa' appears with the definite article and without specific mention of a nation state:

Hab. 1:1 המשא אשר חזה חבקוק הנביא

This usage is not, however, totally exceptional; it is somewhat parallel to Isa. 13:1 and Nah. 1:1:

Isa. 13:1 משא בבל אשר חזה ישעיהו בן אמוץ

Nah. 1:1[19] משא נינוה ספר חזון נחום

The common elements in these three employments are the combination of maśśa' and √ḥzh and the reference to the prophet in the third person; the latter feature being indicative of redactorial activity. The combination with √ḥzh, moreover, suggests that the term maśśa' -- whatever its precise meaning -- is the object of prophetic revelation.[20] It does not follow, however, that maśśa' as "revelation" is essentially visual,[21] for the √ḥzh itself in classical prophetic usage seems to have lost its specific visual connotation.[22]

A more far-reaching variation on the stereotyped O. A. N. usage of maśśa' observed thus far is found in Zech. and Malachi:

Zech. 9:1	משא דבר ד׳ בארץ הדרך
12:1	משא דבר ד׳ על ישראל
Mal. 1:1	משא דבר ד׳ אל ישראל

Note the following:

(a) The term "maśśa'" is combined with d^{e}bar YHWH in what strikes one at first sight as a stylistic or textual conflation.[23]

(b) Though a foreign country still survives in 9:1, it is prefaced by the preposition "in".

(c) In Zech. 12:1, Mal. 1:1 the foreign nation is replaced by "Israel", preceded by the prepositions 'el/'al.

Now the conflated use of "maśśa'" with d^{e}bar YHWH as well as the application to "Israel" suggests that the stereotyped O. A. N. usage is already in a process of stylistic break-down. But just as in the case of the √yrš - stereotype, where demonstrably late reflexes seemed to have preserved ancient features,[24] so too the aforementioned examples preserve features of the original usage of maśśa', features which reflect a pre-stereotyped phase of prophetic maśśa' as evidenced by Isaiah and Nah. 1:1.

III. Idiomatic Prototype

We shall now consider the prototypal idiomatic usage of maśśaʾ underlying the stereotyped O. A. N. form, leaving open for the moment the problem of definition. Our conclusion, briefly stated, is: The technical prophetic uses of maśśaʾ -- "maśśaʾ YHWH" and, in the O. A. N., "maśśaʾ X" where "X" refers to a foreign nation, -- are primary and secondary apocopations respectively of an original "Y + √nśaʾ + maśśaʾ + ʿal/ʾel + X", where Y = the subject or agent, YHWH, and "X" = the object or recipient, be it an individual or collective.

(a)

The evidence for the non-apocopated expression is furnished by 2 K. 19:25:[25]

ודʾ נשא עליו את המשא הזה

which is then followed by an oracle of doom (vs. 26):

אם לא את דמי נבות... ראיתי
ושלמתי לך בחלקה הזאת

The √šlm as a term of retribution is familiar to us from its technical Y. Y. - O. A. N. usage in "nāqam ve-šillēm". The structure of the maśśaʾ idiom is, however, our main interest at this point. The subject or agent is God Himself; the maśśaʾ is His maśśaʾ. The predicate governing maśśaʾ is √nśaʾ ʿal and is non-reflexive, the latter a feature which will prove of utmost significance for the question of definition.

Now the subsequent elaboration of the maśśa' as a pronouncement of doom (vs. 26) makes clear the connection with the prophetic maśśa'. This usage finds its locus classicus in Jer. 23:33f:

וכי ישאלך העם הזה או כהן או נביא לאמר:
מה משא ד'... 25a והנביא והכהן והעם אשר יאמר
משא ד' ... כה תאמרו איש אל רעהו ואיש אל אחיו:
מה ענה ד' ומה דבר ד'

The thrice-repeated maśśa' YHWH in connection with an inquiry - albeit hypothetical - of the prophet leaves no doubt as to the technical status of this expression.[26] Its connection with the passage quoted above is similarly certain: here, as there, the agent is YHWH and the maśśa' is His. What is missing in this technical usage is the object or recipient and, with it, the preposition 'al. The conclusion suggests itself, accordingly, that maśśa' YHWH is an apocopation of "maśśa' YHWH 'al X."

Corroborating evidence is furnished by the terminology which the prophet suggests as a substitute,[27] √'nh and √dbr. The latter is particularly important as a connecting link with O. A. N. maśśa' and its significance.[28] Here we need only point out that a similar stylistic process -- viz. apocopation -- affects the use of √dbr in prophetic literature: d^{e}bar YHWH alongside : "d^{e}bar YHWH 'al X".[29]

The question now arises as to the relationship of prophetic maśśa' YHWH with O. A. N. maśśa' X. At first sight it would appear that the connection, if any, is only indirect, since the subject or agent of O. A. N. maśśa' is -- again prima facie -- no longer YHWH but rather the foreign nation. Yet an examination of the relevant material indicates clearly that maśśa' X is in a direct line of development with maśśa' YHWH.

(b)

The evidence for O. A. N. maśśa' as a reflex of prophetic maśśa' YHWH[30] is to be found in the Isaianic collection of O. A. N. material, specifically in the summation statements in the body or at the conclusion of the oracles.

Isa.	15:1	משא מואב ...
	16:13	זה הדבר אשר דבר ד' אל מואב מאז
	19:1	משא מצרים ...
	19:12	וידעו מה יעץ ד' צבאות על מצרים
	19:17	מפני עצת ד' צבאות אשר הוא יועץ עליו
	23:1	משא צר ...
	23:8-9	מי יעץ זאת על צר... ד' צבאות יעצה

In 15-16, the term maśśa' is paralleled by √dbr YHWH, the very same idiom used as equivalent of maśśa' YHWH, in Jer. 23:33f.[31] Furthermore, Isa. 16:13 is structurally identical with 2 K. 19:25. The combination √nśa' maśśa' is here paralleled by √dbr dbr; in both cases the object or recipient is distinct from the subject or agent; in both cases the preposition figures idiomatically.[32]

In Isa. 19 and 23, the situation is much the same, except that √dbr is replaced by √y'ṣ. Note the combination √y'ṣ 'ṣāh in 19:17 and in all cases the idiomatic use of the preposition, 'al.

It is accordingly clear that maśśa' Moab, Miṣraim, etc. are in fact apocopations of maśśa' YHWH 'al Moab, etc. Its relation to maśśa' YHWH is as follows: both derive from a prototype found (e.g.) in 2 K. 19:25, and are apocopated forms thereof. But whereas maśśa' YHWH has "'al X" understood, "maśśa' X" has YHWH as agent or subject understood. We may, however, go further: "maśśa' X" presupposes the prior existence of apocopated "maśśa' YHWH", since the latter alone is self-explanatory. "Maśśa' X" is accordingly a secondary development.[33]

(c)

Direct confirmation of our interpretation of O. A. N. maśśa' is to be found only in Isaiah, where the term regularly occurs. In Jeremiah and Ezekiel the term maśśa' nowhere appears in O. A. N. material;

each, however, evidences stylistic counterparts. Discussion of the introductory O. A. N. formula in Ezekiel may be temporarily deferred; that in Jeremiah, however, may be adduced at this point as indirect corroboration of our thesis.

The introductory formula in Jeremiah's O. A. N. is found in its fullest form in:

46:1 אשר היה דבר ד׳ אל ירמיהו הנביא על הגוים

47:1 אשר היה דבר ד׳ אל ירמיהו הנביא אל פלשתים

Note the use of √dbr YHWH as in Jer. 23:33f, Isa. 16:13, as well as the idiomatic use of the prepositions ʾel and ʿal with foreign nations. But the parallel with O. A. N. maśśaʾ in Isaiah extends further: the very process of apocopation affects the introductory formula in Jer.:

46:2 ... למצרים

48:1 ... למואב

49:1 ... לבני עמון

To be sure, the apocopation is more extreme in these passages: an identical parallel to Isaiah -- with substitution of √dbr for maśśaʾ -- would have been d^{e}bar Moab etc. But then this deviation is hardly significant in the light of the following:

49:7 לאדום ...

49:20 לכן שמעו עצת ד' אשר יעץ אל אדום

Cp. above, Isa. 15:1, 16:13 etc. It is clear that l^{e}edom is in fact an apocopation of d^{e}bar/'st YHWH 'al/'el Edom with the same force and intent as: maśśa' Edom.

Thus, despite the absence of maśśa' in Jeremiah's O. A. N. -- an absence presumably determined by 23:33f -- the evidence of √dbr and √y'ṣ, combined with the phenomenon of apocopation, is sufficient to establish:

(a) The connection between maśśa' YHWH and maśśa' X, hence the prophetic character of the O. A. N. material.[34]

(b) The unity of literary tradition featuring Isaianic and Jeremian O. A. N. collections.

The connection with Ezekiel's O. A. N. remains yet to be determined.[35] The foregoing discussion, however, casts a revealing light on Zech. 9:12, Mal. 1:1: משא דבר ד' על ... What we confront here is:

(a) A stylistic conflation of the introductory O. A. N. variants characterizing the Isaianic and Jeremian collections respectively.

(b) A reversion back to the pre-apocopated forms of these terms as evidenced by the use of the preposition: i. e.

maśśa' X and d^{e}bar YHWH > maśśa' d^{e}bar YHWH 'al X

IV. The Problem of Definition

Our attention turns now to establishing if possible the connotation(s) of prophetic maśśa', i. e. the problem of definition. It must be emphasized, however, that the expression is a technical term; as such, its meaning as a "prophetic oracle" -- especially an "oracle of doom" -- is beyond dispute and controversy. What is at issue is the etymology and semantic field -- or, better, semantic connotation -- of the term. Our interest in this problem is less the determining of a precise rendering of the term's connotation(s) and more its idiomatic parallels. The connotation-analysis will prove important for establishing a connection between maśśa' and the stereotyped O. A. N. -- introductory formula in Ezekiel.

The √nśa' is of high frequency in the O. T. and figures both in idiomatic and non-idiomatic usage.[36] It has cognates in most, if not all, of the Semitic languages.[37] Its two basic and related meanings are "to raise up" and "to carry, bear". In this latter significance, the usage is largely non-idiomatic:[38] the syntactical objects vary from "locust" (Ex. 10:13) to "gold" (I K. 10:11) to "sheep" (1 Sam. 17:34). Insofar as it governs a preposition, it is the preposition ʿal -- "on, upon" -- that is most commonly found. The objects of the preposition are generally the "shoulder" (Isa. 46:7) and the "back" (Job. 31:36) of the syntactical subject: i. e. the preposition is used to express reflexive action.

By contrast, the √nśaʾ with connotation "raise up" figures in numerous idiomatic expressions, many of them paralleled in other Semitic languages.[39] Thus: √nśaʾ rōš,"to count (heads)" (Nu. 31:49); "to show favor" (2 K. 25:27 = Jer. 52:37).

√nśaʾ pānîm, "to show favoritism"
√nśaʾ ʿēnayim, nepeš: "desire; covet"
√nśaʾ nepeš, "swear" (Ps. 24:4)
√nśaʾ ʿawōn, "forgive"
√nśaʾ ʾîšāh, "to wed"
√nśaʾ qôl, "to shout; yell"

Usages of √nśaʾ = "to raise" --both idiomatic and non-idiomatic -- seldom govern a preposition. When a preposition is used, it is normally ʾel, designating "direction towards".[40] With one exception,[41] the use of the preposition is never idiomatically necessary in the aforementioned list of idiomatic usages.

There are two noun-forms derived from √nśaʾ: maśśaʾ and maśʾēt. The former refers almost invariably to that which is borne or carried; a load or burden.[42] It accordingly reflects √nśaʾ in its connotation of "carry, bear". The usage of maśʾēt is less unambiguous. In Ju. 20:38 it denotes a signal raised, while Zeph. 3:18 --משאת חרפה and Jer. 40:5 -- ארחה ומשאת -- clearly reflect the connotation of "bear" or "carry". The usage in II Sam. 11:8 -- משאת המלך - - is highly enigmatic.

It is to be observed that there is but one certain example of a nominal form of √nśaʾ corresponding to the connotation "raise up", and that example involves not maśśaʾ but maśʾēt.

Determining the connotation - origins of prophetic maśśaʾ is thus not without difficulty. Militating against the maśśaʾ = "utterance" hypothesis are:

(a) There is hardly a single usage of √nśaʾ = "to raise up" requiring the idiomatic employment of the prepositions ʾel or ʿal. This is particularly true of √nśaʾ qôl,[43] the semantic-idiomatic origin generally postulated for this interpretation.

(b) There is but one nominal form -- maśʾēt -- attested corresponding to √nśaʾ = "to raise up", and no maśśaʾ qôl.[44]

On the other hand, the rendering of prophetic maśśaʾ by "burden" encounters the following difficulties:

(a) There is hardly a single idiomatic usage of √nśaʾ = "to carry, bear".

(b) The use of the preposition ʿal is invariably reflexive, i. e. the prepositional object refers back to the subject, whereas in the prophetic idiom subject and object are distinct entities.

It is clear, however, that any hope of resolving this problem presupposes the establishing of an idiomatic parallel to maśśa'. This leads us to consider the usage of √nśa' with māšāl, Qînāh, and related terms. Examination of the evidence makes it clear that the prophetic idiomatic usage of maśśa' is akin to the idiomatic usage of √nśa' with these terms.

1. māšāl

Mic. 2:4	ביום ההוא ישא עליכם משל
Hab. 2:6	הלא אלה כלם עליו משל ישאו
Isa. 14:1	ונשאת את המשל הזה על מלך בבל

The structure in each of these examples is at once uniform and strikingly similar to maśśa'. Note the following points:

(a) The idiomatic use of √nśa'

(b) The idiomatic use of the preposition 'al.

(c) Syntactical subject and prepositional object are two different entities.

Other instances of the idiom √nśa' māšāl reveal additional features resembling the maśśa' - idiom:

Nu. 23:7, 18 (24:3, 15, 20, 21, 23):	וישא משלו ויאמר
Job 27:1, 29:1	ויסף איוב שאת משלו

Note the use of the construct (or pronominal) form of māšāl as well as the apocopation resulting from the dropping of the preposition and its object, both features characteristic of maśśa' YHWH.

2. Qînāh

Much the same picture emerges from a consideration of the idiomatic usage of Qînāh and related terms (e.g. nehî).

Jer. 9:9 על ההרים אשא בכי ונהי
ועל נאות מדבר קינה

Ez. 27:2 ... שא על צר קינה

19:1 ... שא קינה אל נשיאי ישראל

Again the idiomatic use of √nśa' and the idiomatic, non-reflexive use of the preposition.

Though the stylistic evidence is itself conclusive, we should add to this the likelihood of the correlation of maśśa' - māšāl - Qînāh on literary - historical grounds, in the light of the demonstrated Mošlîm - "Lament" - O.A.N. relationship.

The problem of defining prophetic √nśa' maśśa' is thus seen to dovetail with √nśa' māšāl, Qînāh etc. The parallel immediately serves to settle the question of the preposition, 'al. The latter, with its normal connotation of "on, upon", is frequently used by the "burden" - exponents as an argument in their favor.[45] There is, however, but one rendering that will satisfy the requirements of its use with māšāl - Qînāh - maśśa', and that is: "concerning, about".[46]

More problematic is the question of "raise up" versus "carry, bear".[47] Though the parallel of maśśa' - māšāl - Qînāh cannot decisively resolve the issue, it does tend to favor the interpretation "raise up": for whatever the merits of the "burden - hypothesis" regarding maśśa', it is totally unsuited for māšāl (=taunt, parable, proverb) and Qînāh, especially the former.[48]

But possibly more decisive is the prophetic evidence itself; specifically, the demonstrated stylistic synonymity of maśśa', d^{e}bar, 'ṣh, and even n^{e}'um. Admittedly, prophetic maśśa' is a terminus technicus so that its stylistic variants -- d^{e}bar, n^{e}'um -- do not bear directly on the question of the pre-technical connotation of the term. Still the fact that d^{e}bar and n^{e}'um are both speech-terminology, makes it likely that maśśa' YHWH refers to vocal activity as well.[49]

There remains to be explained, however, an important difference between maśśa' and its stylistic variants. Neither n^{e}'um, d^{e}bar nor 'ṣh evidences consistent and virtually exclusive employment with doom - oracles.

To this must be added evidence which, to my knowledge, has not been previously considered in this connection. viz. the expression: hinnenî 'a/'elekā. The expression occurs largely -- though not exclusively -- in O.A.N. contexts and is a reflex of a basic hinnenî 'al/'el

formulary.[51] Its occurrences are mainly in Ezekiel's O.A.N. where it appears seven times.[52] Two occurrences are attested alike in Jer. (50:31, 51:25), and Nahum (2:14, 3:5).

A stylistic comparison makes it likely that prophetic maśśa' and hinnenî ʿal/'el are somehow related:

1. Ez.	26:3	הנני עליך צר ...
	28:22	הנני עליך צידון ...
	35:3	הנני אליך הר שעיר ...
Isa.	23:1	משא צר ...
2. Nahum	2:14 (= 3:5)	הנני אליך נאם ד'
Jer.	50:31	הנני אליך זדון נאם ד'

In the case of Ezekiel, the similarity with Isaiah is not only stylistic but form-critical as well, i.e. an identity of function as introductory formulary.[53] It is further significant that the term maśśa' is totally absent in Ezekiel.

In the case of Nahum, the role played by hinnenî 'el is that of introduction to the Gerichtsankündigung or "judgment" portion of the anti-Nineveh prophecy, a prophecy which is labelled (1:1) -- albeit by a redactorial hand -- maśśa'.

It is accordingly likely that, in Ezekiel at least, hinnenî ʿal/ʾel is a stylistic variant of maśśaʾ YHWH. If the two are connected, then the connection is explicable in one way only: the idea of God-Himself -- or His actions -- as "crushing" like a heavy burden.[54]

This interpretation poses no problem for hinnenî ʾel/ʿal; it does raise a question for the "utterance" - interpretation of maśśaʾ YHWH.

The conclusion to be drawn is as follows. Despite the origins of prophetic maśśaʾ in the sphere of vocal activity and its status as a technical term for divine speech, its double-entendre as "oracle" and "burden" was never lost. Not only did the "burden" innuendo provide a means for bitter witticism (Jer. 23:33f), but it gradually colored the technical meaning "oracle", first by making maśśaʾ synonymous with a "doom-oracle" and, finally, by giving rise to a stylistic variant of maśśaʾ YHWH -- hinnenî ʾel/ʿal[55] -- where the "burden" idea becomes almost explicit.

V. Conclusions

Our discussion of maśśa' has led us to the following conclusions:

(a) The term became in prophetic literature a technical term associated with doom-pronouncements. Though attested to in non-O.A.N. sources -- prophetic as well as non-prophetic -- its connection with O.A.N. material is primary.

(b) In its idiomatic prophetic usage -- originally maśśa' YHWH -- the term reflects an idiom associated with "taunt" and "lament" forms. In its later development it more and more approaches the significance of "burden".

But the full import of this discussion extends beyond the determination of the meaning of maśśa'. Its implications extend to the O.A.N. tradition as a whole and beyond it, to the very origins of classical prophecy.

In our previous analyses, we had occasion here and there to point out what seemed clear reflexes of O.A.N. style and idiom in classical -- or Israel-centered -- prophetic sources. But reflexes of the fire-motif stereotype, the √ʾbd and "wailing" motifs, stand, in the final analysis, on the periphery of classical prophetic language and ideas. They are not evidence for an organic unity or deep-rooted mutual dependency between the two traditions.

Such is not the case, however, with maśśa'. Its prophetic pedigree in the classical period is rendered certain by Jer. 23:33 f. Its synonymous usage with n^{e}'um, d^{e}bar, and 'ṣt YHWH places it in the very center of the prophetic Weltanschauung. Finally, and consequently, its undeniable O.A.N. affinity attests to the prophetic character of this tradition.

On the other hand, it seems reasonably clear that the idiom maśśa' YHWH -- much less the O.A.N. tradition -- did not originate with the classical prophets.[56] To be sure, the absence of literary records of pre-classical or non-classical prophecy of the later period precludes establishing such an hypothesis with absolute certainty. What lends it an element of plausibility, however, is the fact that, despite its technical synonymity with n^{e}'um and d^{e}bar, the term maśśa' hardly occurs in the Israel-oriented prophecies: the divine message which the prophets bear -- from Amos onwards -- is invariably designated by n^{e}'um and verbally by √dbr and √'mr. What has happened to √nśa' and maśśa'? Again, no certainty is possible; a plausible suggestion is that a fate similar to that of ro'eh and ḥozeh overtook √nśa' maśśa', such that its use at a certain stage in the classical period was deemed archaic, if not outrightly derogatory.[57]

In any event, maśśa' YHWH is hardly a classical prophetic creation. But since its prophetic character is certain nonetheless, then the conclusion seems inevitable: maśśa' YHWH is a product of pre-8th century

prophetic circles, though its use continues sporadically through the classical period, especially in connection with pronouncements on foreign nations. With Ezekiel, it seems to have been abandoned entirely, only to be revived again -- albeit in somewhat altered form -- in the post-exilic phase of prophetic history.

Accordingly, the conclusions reached with regard to maśśa' should counsel against drawing radical demarcations regarding classical and pre-classical -- also non-classical -- prophecy. It suggests that the literary -- oral, if not written -- accomplishments of the "former prophets" may have been more substantial than is generally thought, and the indebtedness of their successors to them not inconsequential.

NOTES TO MAŚŚA'

1. The two most detailed studies of maśśa' in recent years are P. A. H. de Boer, O. T. S. V (1948), pp. 197-214; H. S. Gehman, "The 'Burden' of the Prophets", JQR 31 (1940/1). Cf. also J. B. Gray, ICC (Isaiah), p. xlvii. The Greek evidence is analyzed by de Boer and, in less detail, Gehman.

2. Cf. e.g. Mandelkern, Concordance... s.v. maśśa':

בא... על הדיבור ועל הרב על אומות העולם

3. Cf. Gehman, op. cit., pp. 110, 120. The Rabbis considered maśśa' one of the ten terms of prophecy and the most ominous: Gen. Rabbah 44 (= Šir ha-šširim Rabbah 3) (quoted in part by Gehman, p. 121 and in full by de Boer, p. 206.) A non-technical usage in prophetic sources is Isa. 22:25; 17:21-22.

4. Cf. below, p. 213.

5. E.g. Mowinckel, Eissfeldt, Gray; Graf (apud de Boer, pp. 209-11).

6. Some presume a √nśa' = "to speak", independent of √nśa' with the above meanings: cf. de Boer, p. 197.

7. The expression is nš'u g, used generally in connection with divinities conversing with each other. Cf. "Yom Yahwe", above, n. 45.

8. "The Literary Structure of Isaiah's Oracles" in Th. Robinson Festschrift (1950), p. 178.

9. Cf. Ex. 6:8, Nu. 14:30. Scott points to Deut. 32:40, Ez. 36:7.

10. So Gehman and de Boer. The LXX is not consistent in its renderings, alternating in the main between λημμα (= "burden") and ὅρασις (= "vision"), the latter influenced by the use of √ḥzh with maśśa' (e.g.) in Nah. 1:1, Hab. 1:1.

11. Op. cit., pp. 111-112.

12. Op. cit., p. 211.

13. Op. cit., p. 111.

14. Ibidem.

15. Ibid., p. 117. Cf. also Scott, op. cit., p. 178; de Boer, op. cit., p. 214.

16. It is accordingly a matter of some surprise that this term has barely figured, if at all, in the history of prophetic form-criticism. The term is nowhere to be found in Westermann's Grundformen...

17. A number of occurrences are problematic: thus 21:1, 21:11. The occurrence in 22:1 -- משא גיא חזיון -- is similarly enigmatic: the choice of חזיון is possibly determined by the use of √ḥzh with maśśa' elsewhere (13:1).

18. Cf. Gray, op. cit., p. xlvii: "...it seems most probable that chs. 13-23 are derived from an independent 'Book of Oracles (משאות)'..."

19. The relevance of this passage is vitiated somewhat by the possibility that we confront here a combination of two separate book-titles.

20. Cf. Lam. 2:14: ויחזו לך משאות שוא

21. So Gehman, op. cit., p. 118: "This implies that the prophet may receive the משא in a vision."

22. Cp. Isa. 21:1 חזות קשה הגד לי
הבוגד בוגד והשודד שודד
Both the use of √hgd and the "catch-phrase" suggest that √ḥzh here is auditory rather than visual.

23. Cf. Sellin, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch (KAT, 1930), apud Gehman, op. cit., p. 118: "eine unnaturliche Tautologie". Gehman's criticism -- "if משא is rendered Ausspruch (so Sellin), the expression does appear to be tautological, but with the translation burden, that difficulty is eliminated" -- misses the point. For whatever its original connotation, maśśa' in prophetic speech is a technical term, as Gehman himself acknowledges, p. 110 -- equivalent to נאם and דבר.

24. Cf. above, "yrš - motif", pp. 142ff.

25. According to de Boer, op. cit., p. 198, this passage serves as an instance for those who assume a second meaning for maśśa', "utterance, oracle".

25a. The omitted phrase is MT מה המשא which scholars, modern and ancient, have "corrected" to אתם המשא (cf. LXX, Syr. and Rashi ad loc.). For attempts to explain the prophet's indignation at this term, cf. below notes 27 and 57. It is worth pointing out that Ez. 13:6f attests a similar fulmination against the term n^{e}'um.

26. Cf. above, p. 200. According to Rudolph (Jeremia, ad loc. Jer. 23:33f) vs. 34 is based on a misunderstanding of v. 33 and "dass Jer. mit diesen Missverstandnis nichts zu tun hat, versteht sich von selbst." But cf. Bright (Jeremiah: Anchor Bible, p. 153:) "In vss. 34-40 the wordplay is developed in a slightly different direction."

27. According to Gehman (op. cit., p. 120) "the use of משא was forbidden in order to render impossible a profane use of the term." For Gehman the term is used by the people against the prophet; according to de Boer (op. cit., p. 211), it is the prophet who uses it against the people. It might, however, be asked of de Boer: In that case, why the threat against those who employ it (vs. 34)?

28. Cf. immediately below.

29. Cf. also ʿst YHWH = √yʿs YHWH ʿal X. For documentation and further discussion, cf. immediately.

30. Cf. Ibn Ezra to Nah. 1:1 (מה שנשא השם על נינוה(משא נינוה

31. Cf. also Prov. 31:1 where maśśaʾ is paralleled by √dbr. The verse is however problematic. LXX has: οἱ ἐμοὶ λογοὶ εἰρηνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλέως χρηματισμος.
The rendering of משא, however, by χρηματισμος — "oracle" — is significant. Eissfeldt (Introduction, pp. 475-6) follows Torry in considering maśśaʾ a proper name, specifically an Arab tribe (Gen. 25:14) and renders here and in Prov. 30:1, "the Massaite". The combination of √ysr with maśśaʾ is elsewhere paralleled only in I Chron. 15:22, though the testimony of the versions -- cf. BH^3 ad loc. --

as well as the parallel verse 27 suggest a textual corruption, viz. ישר׳ יסר Note, however, that מבין in vs. 22 is a term of instruction -- cp. Neh. 8:9 -- to which √ysr is a perfect parallel. Cf. further note 33.

32. The variation in prepositions employed -- ʾel and ʿal -- cannot be urged against the conclusion of a stereotyped idiomatic usage; cp. Zech. 9:12, Mal. 1:1. In late-biblical Hebrew at least, the distinctions between the two seem to have been blurred. Note the indiscriminate interchange in Ezekiel; also the rendering by LXX of

Is. 16:13: ... ἐπὶ μωαβ (= MT: אל מואב)
Jer. 29:30: ... ἐπὶ τὴν Ιδουμαίαν (= MT 29:20: אל אדום)

33. The use of maśśaʾ in I. Chron. 15:22 and especially 15:27 suggests a cultic employment of the term. It is a priori likely, however, that the term here connotes "(physical) carry" referring to the carrying of the ark in cultic procession (cf. Nu. 4:15, 47). The bearing on our discussion is thus minimal.

34. For further discussion on this point, cf. below, pp. 221ff.

35. Cf. below, p. 218.

36. Mandelkern's listings comprise three and one-half pages (768-771) of verbal forms alone.

37. Arabic: našaʾa; Aeth.: nasʾa, našʾa; Akk: našû; Ug.: nšʾa Cf. Aisleitner, s.v.

38. A possible exception is √nśaʾ ʿl peh (e.g. Ps. 50:16), "to speak". Yet this expression, even if idiomatic, cannot be the origin of prophetic maśśaʾ since the preposition is here used reflexively. Cf. pp. 206, 214. The same is true of √nśaʾ herpah.

39. For the Ugaritic idioms, cf. Aisleitner, s.v. nš'a. Akkadian examples are: ana ilim našû: (CH: 181; ANET, p. 174): "consecrate" inam našû (CH: 25; ANET, p. 167): "covet".

40. E.g. Ps. 121:1; Nu. 6:26.

41. √nśa' + nēpeš = "to covet" : cf. Deut. 24:15 ואליו הוא נשא את נפשו; Ps. 143:8 -- כי אליך נשאתי נפשי. Note, however, that the preposition is אל and the idea is "direction towards".

42. A single exception is Ez. 24:25 מחמד עיניהם ואת משא נפשם. In 2 Chron. 19:8 we find: משא פנים ומקח שחד. Both maśśo' and miqqaḥ are hapax - forms, apparently post-exilic developments. Maśśo' -- variants maśśôi -- maśś'ôi -- is the common Rabbinic form of משא = "burden, load". Cf. Jastrow, Dictionary, s.v. Hos. 8:10 — ממשא — is a crux interpretum.

43. A typical idiomatic use of √nśa' qol is in combination with √bkh (< * √bky): cp. Gen. 27:38, 29:11. In Ugaritic, √bkh is generally replaced by √ṣḥ (Aisleitner: "rufen; einladen"; Gordon, s.v, ṣyḥ : "to shout"). Cp. Ju. 9:7: וישא קולו ויקרא.

44. The absence of משא קול is adduced by de Boer (op. cit., p. 211) against the "utterance" interpretation.

45. Cf. Gehman's interpretation of Amos 5:1 (op. cit., p. 114): "the ominous warning is raised and laid upon the nation."

46. Note, parenthetically, that English "about" actually means "around" as in: "He walked about".

47. There is no evidence -- either linguistic or literary -- for a √nśa' independent of these meanings: Cf. de Boer, op. cit., p. 209ff.

48. Gehman points to the "catastrophe" and "threat" inherent in Balaam's "pronouncements", but what of Job 27:1, 29:1? The meaning of √nśa' = "to raise up" with māšāl and Qînāh is conceded by de Boer (op. cit., p. 212).

49. This conclusion in no way implies either an idiomatic origin for maśśa' with √nśa' qôl or a distinct meaning of √nśa' = "to speak".

50. Cf. Humbert, ZAW (1933), pp. 101-108; Rudolph (Jeremia, p. 286).

51. Jer. 23:30-32; Ez. 13:8; 30:22; 34:10.

52. Ez. 26:3; 28:22; 29:3. 10; 35:3, 38:3 (= 39:1). Outside the O. A. N., in 5:8, 21:8, 36:10.

53. It must, however, be noted that no trace of a redactorial hand is evident in Ezekiel's formulary.

54. Even disregarding the connection with maśśa' -- of which Humbert makes no mention -- this interpretation seems more plausible than "die Formel der Orakel mit הנני אליך nach dem Muster der Erzählung eines Zweikampfes gebildet" (p. 106). The major textual support brought by the author is the David-Goliath story, though the author is forced to concede that "freilich fehlt gerade die technische Formel הנני אל in I Sam. 17:45ff." This leads to a conjecture "dass der Ausdruck הנני אל selber eine Abkurzung für הנני בא אל (ist)", since the latter alone occurs in the story in question.

55. Strictly speaking, the variant would have been:* הנה ד' על/אל
The transition to first person speech is understandable in terms of the "messenger style" of prophetic address, i. e. the third-person introduction becomes first-person in the body of the message.

56. We intend to trace the gradual process of classical "prophetisation" of the O. A. N. tradition via a study of "motivation" (Begründung) motifs in the subsequent chapter.

57. Cf. Gehman, p. 119:"In Jeremiah's time it seems that this word was deliberately misused by the people hostile to the prophet when they derisively asked: 'What is the of YHWH?'"A parallel occurrence -- if Gehman's interpretation is correct -- might be Amaziah's use of חזה in Amos 7:12. Cf. G. Farr, "The Language of Amos...", VT XVI (1966), p. 324.

CHAPTER IV - "BEGRÜNDUNG"[1] IN THE O. A. N.

I. Introduction

C. Westermann, in a monograph entitled, Grundformen Prophetischer Rede,[2] has undertaken a review and synthesis of scholarly research in the field of prophetic form-criticism. Though generously recognizing Gunkel's impact on this area of biblical study,[3] the author considers the post-Gunkelian phase, introduced by the studies of Lindblom and Koehler,[4] as the decisive period of "breakthrough". The distinctive contribution of these scholars was the idea of the prophets as Boten[5] and prophetic speech as Botenspruch. Writes Westermann:[6]

> An diese neue Bestimmung des prophetischen Gerichtswortes als Botenwort... muss nach meinem Verständnis die weitere Erarbeitung der prophetischen Redeformen anschliessen.

Pre-Gunkelian research[7] had already discerned the most common form of prophetic address as a two-storied literary structure. But the absence of a common perspective produced a diversity of descriptive terminology that impeded co-ordination of research.[8] Thus

Gunkel himself, employing as basic concepts the terms Drohung ("Threat") and Scheltwort ("Reproach") not only failed thereby to isolate the uniquely prophetic Gattung,[9] but misled much of subsequent form-critical study in positing correspondingly independent Sitze-im-Leben. Similarly unfortunate, in my opinion, has been the use of Heil -- and unHeil -- based on Jer. 28:8 -- as literary categories.[10] Clearly such terms, whatever their validity in other areas -- history, theology etc. -- are inadmissible in the company of "poetry", "narrative", "prayer", "dirge", "song", "law-suit" etc.

Westermann argues well for a revision of Gunkelian terminology.[11] His choice is Begründung ("grounds"; "motivation") and Ankündigung ("pronouncement"), terms which have the advantage of being more comprehensive than the aforementioned choices of Gunkel. More importantly, they suggest a literary unity corresponding to the notion of the prophet as "apostle", in the light of which Gunkel's dichotomy appears artificial and unwarranted.[12]

To determine the basic structure of prophetic speech, Westermann turns his attention to the question of the history of prophecy, form-critically considered. It is to the author's credit that he does not exaggerate the differences between "former" and "latter" prophecy; a tripartite structural unity characterizes both:[13]

(1) Begründung

(2) Boten-Formula (i. e. כה אמר ד׳)

(3) Gerichtsankündigung ("pronouncement of 'judgement' or 'doom' ")

The only "essential difference"[14] mutatis mutandis is that whereas "former" prophecy is "individual - oriented" ("Gerichtswort an Einzelne (GE)") "latter" prophecy is "nation" - or "group - oriented" ("Gerichtsankündigung gegen Volk (GV)"). In the transition from GE to GV, certain minor changes occur in the structure of prophetic speech. One is the shift from direct 2nd person address to indirect 3rd person; another is, what Westermann calls, the process of Entfaltung or "elaboration". Structurally, classical prophetic speech is:

(1) Begründung:

(a) Anklage or "charge"
(b) Entfaltung der Anklage

(2) Botenformel

(3) Gerichtsankündigung (G. A.)

(a) Eingreifen ("intervention") Gottes
(b) Folge des Eingreifens

This represents the classical-prophetic Gattung in its "pure" form. More frequent are the transmuted ("abgewandelte") forms, involving the following principal variations:[15]

a) The reversal of structural-position: "(3)-(1)-(2)" and "(2)-(1)-(3)" being the most common.

b) A disproportion in one of the members (1) or (3).

c) Begründung or Ankündigung appear alone.[16]

d) The Boten-formula may be abbreviated, at times even disappear.

The most significant contribution of this highly important study lies in the sphere of methodology: the concept of the "apostolic prophet" and the structural analysis of prophetic speech as Begründung and Ankündigung, though not entirely new, have been established as the basic framework for prophetic form-criticism.

Concerning the O. A. N. tradition the author remarks:[17]

> Dieser grosse, komplizierte Bereich der Völkerspruche muss hier ausgeklammert werden... Denn auch bei formaler Ubereinstimmung gehören sie sachlich nicht in die hier untersuchte Linie des Prophetenwortes, sondern in die Linie des Heilswortes.

The reason given for designating the O. A. N. as "Heilsprophetie" is particularly instructive: "...weil sie in der konkreten Lage des Ergehens eines solchen Spruches Heil fur Israel bedeuten."[18] The confusion of "literary" and "non-literary" categories is here blatant: on this line of reasoning we should be forced to conclude that a literary genre is to be defined according to its practical effect on a certain type of reader or listener. We should then have to redefine literary types as "happy", "sad", "edifying", "useful" etc., and even then we should have to add the qualification of the reader's own subjectivity. For if the O. A. N. is "Heil" for Israel, it is quite the opposite for the foreign nations. Furthermore, taken by themselves the O. A. N. motifs are pure unHeil,[19] while their periodic application to Israel suggest that no rigid lines between anti-Israel and anti-foreign nation Gerichtsankündigung can be drawn.

Westermann is not wholly unaware of the latter problem:

> Wenn in den Büchern der Gerichtspropheten Völkerspruche begegnen die in der Struktur den GV ganz entsprechen, ist hier zu fragen ob hier etwa eine nachträgliche Angliechung vorliegt. Es ist anzunehmen dass die Völkerspruche der frühen Zeit in Zusammenhang der Heilsprophetie eine eigene, andern Form hatten.[20]

We shall yet have occasion to witness the phenomenon of "nachträgliche Angleichung". We shall observe that this takes place with regard to Begründung. But as was demonstrated below,[21] in cases of Ankündigung — motifs, where O. A. N. and non-O. A. N. prophetic parallels obtain, the influence is likely from the O. A. N. to the non-O. A. N. and not vice versa. Furthermore: how does one reconcile the "eigene, andern Form" of Heilsprophetie -- which all are agreed in placing its origins in the period of "former" prophecy -- with the basic structural unity of prophetic - speech posited by Westermann himself?

Westermann, however, has sensed an important form-critical characteristic of O. A. N. prophecy:[22]

> ... Zu ihnen gehörte nicht notwendig eine Begründung, oder doch eine ganz andere Art von Begründung.

Elsewhere, Westermann finds two types of doom-pronouncement where Begründung does not appear as an essential form-critical characteristic. One such type -- designated "blosse Unheilsankündigung" -- is illustrated, according to the author, by 2K. 20:1 (=Isa. 38:1), Jer. 22:10, 11:22, 24-27; 37:17. He concludes that despite "täuschender Ahnlichkeit mit den Gerichtsankündigungen", this type "nicht zu ihnen gehören, sondern einer ganz anderen Form gehören."[23] This other form is the "Gottesbefragung" or "Inquiry of the Divine", as found (e. g.) in 2K. 1. This

type of doom-pronouncement is akin to Heil - pronouncements, which -- dependent on hesed -- are similarly without Begründung.[24] Westermann has apparently not realized that the latter conclusion undermines his contention of a form-critical distinction between Heil and unHeil prophecy. Moreover, the conclusion that the "blosse unheilsankündigung" is radically distinct -- at least with regard to its Sitz-im-Leben -- from classical apostolic Gerichtsankündigung is somewhat vitiated by Westermann's observation[25] that the absence of Begründung is found in "abgewandelte" forms of G. A. Anticipating, however, our subsequent discussion, we can agree with Westermann that such differences as do obtain between pre-classical and classical prophecy center essentially on the role of Begründung. Such an hypothesis is warranted primarily by the O. A. N. evidence.

The second type of "ungrounded" doom-pronouncement Westermann finds in the "curse". His primary evidence is the Balaam Lays. The author concludes:[26]

> Der Fluch bedarf keiner anderen Begründung als der blossen Gegnerschaft.

It may be disputed whether the actual doom-pronouncements in Nu. 24 are "curses" sensu stricto,[27] except in the sense that all prophetic pronouncement carried with it a self-fulfilling element either positive

or negative. Still in view of the demonstrated connection of these Lays with the O. A. N., it is here, rather than the Gottesbefragung, that we must seek an explanation for O. A. N. Begründung. In this respect as well the O. A. N. proves itself heir to Israel's ancient pre-classical-prophetic heritage. The development of Begründung motifs in the O. A. N. attests to gradual "moralisation" at classical-prophetic hands, while retaining substratal remnants of a non-moralised pre-classical past.

II. "Classical" and O. A. N. Prophecy

So similar at first sight are the foreign-nation prophecies to "classical" non-O. A. N. prophecy from a form-critical standpoint that scholars have been hard-put to distinguish between them.[28] Thus, the characteristic Botenformel -- כה אמר ד' -- is plentifully attested in O. A. N. materials: Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1; Ob. 1; Nah. 1:12; Jer. 47:2, 49:1, 28; 51:1, 48:40, 49:12; Ez. 25:3, 8, 12, 15. In Isaiah where the expression is less frequent generally, the O. A. N. occurrences are 21:6, 16. Similarly well-represented are the typically prophetic " יען... לכן ", which introduce Begründung (or more precisely, Anklage) and Ankündigung respectively.[29] Indeed, Westermann cites[30] Amos 2:1 as an example par-excellence of a typical apostolic - prophetic oracle.

The problem, accordingly, is not the establishment of the classical-prophetic character of the O. A. N. but rather the divergences of the latter. As was pointed out long ago,[31] the a-typical character of the O. A. N. consists in its use of Begründung. The discrepancies are both quantitative and qualitative.

(A) The quantitative difference can be seen in the fact that the ratio of Begründung to Ankündigung in Israel-directed prophecy is virtually reversed in the O. A. N., to the point where entire O. A. N.

compositions are found without Begründung at all: thus, Jer. 47; 49:34-39; Isa. 15; 21:1-10, 11-12, 12-17; Ez. 30:1-9. In Jer. 48:1-10, Begründung accounts for one-fourth of one verse (v. 7); in 49:7-22, two-thirds of a verse (v. 16). In Isa. 16, Begründung is limited to v. 6; in 19:1-25, to v. 11b.

(B) Even more significant than the ratio-disparity is the qualitative difference, though here it is crucial to distinguish early and late stages of the tradition. We have previously observed that the proto-O. A. N. tradition represented by the Mo$lim - material, (e. g.) the Balaam Lays (esp. Ch. 24), shows no trace of Begründung. The same is true of Nu. 21:27ff. In Amos 1-- our earliest preserved O. A. N. source -- Begründung is well-attested. But in contrast with the charges levelled against Judah[32] and Israel, those against the nations are: (a) specific (b) political-military. Moral categories -- חטא - עון - רע - טוב -- are conspicuously absent.[33] No mention is made of the internal moral and social order of these nations. The actions stand condemned first and foremost because of their anti-Israelite character. Indeed the classical prophetic viewpoint of an interdependence between internal behaviour and external fortune is totally lacking in 99% of all O. A. N. material.[34] Nor is there even the slightest hint that Israel's own domestic behaviour is a determining factor in the fortunes of those states with which she had political contact and relations.

To be sure, in the later stage of the O. A. N. tradition the specific anti-Israelite political-military act tends to be replaced or at least supplemented by more general, moralistic and quasi-moralistic charges, especially that of national "hubris". Here the classical-prophetic hand begins to make itself felt. Even so, the idea of "retribution and recompense" -- nāqām ve-šillem -- remains the dominant ideology, an ideology which the O. A. N. shares with the concept of Yom Yahweh.[35] It is the very centrality of "revenge and recompense" which in turn proves the originally non-moral character of O. A. N. Begründung: actions alone can be avenged; moral failings can only be punished.

These qualitative differences between Israel-oriented and O. A. N. prophecy are perhaps best summarized as follows: whereas Israel's actions are defined and evaluated within a context of covenant-ideology, with pronouncements of doom conceived as punishment for covenantal violations; the actions of foreign-nations in the O. A. N. are grasped in the almost secular context of international relations with pronouncements of doom conceived not as punishment but as recompense.[36] Unlike Israel's behaviour, that of foreign nations need not be referred to any higher principle beyond that of Israel's well-being: the latter is the first and last "ground" of action.

This then is the paradox posed by the O. A. N.: a literary tradition so "prophetic" in style yet so "unprophetic" in spirit. No facile compartmentalizations into Heil and Verheissung (or: unHeil-) prophecy will do. Though the subject lies ultimately beyond the scope of this study, it is clear that current notions of classical prophecy cannot but be affected by the results of our investigations.[37]

III. Am. 1:2-2:8

A study of Begründung in the O. A. N. is best initiated with an analysis of Am. 1:2-2:8, of which 1:2-2:3 concerns foreign nations, 2:3-8ff representing an application to Israel and Judah.[38] Scholars long ago observed[39] that Amos emerges on the historical scene with a fully-developed prophetic literary style, precluding the likelihood of his representing a revolutionary beginning, at least from a literary standpoint. This feeling is fully substantiated by an analysis of 1:2-2:3. Proceeding on historical ground, Y. Kaufmann[40] has argued convincingly for a 9th century date of the events mentioned. Our own literary study of the fire-motif similarly pointed to a pre-Amosian stereotype, going back ultimately to the Mošlim tradition. It is thus a priori likely that such conclusions as can be reached with regard to Begründung in Am. 1 stand a good chance of being valid for pre-Amos prophetic discourse.

Begründung elements occur in 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1. They comprise a stereotyped introduction characteristic of O. T. wisdom-literature in its parallelistic use of numbers, with antecedents in ancient Near Eastern epic;[41] and a historically-specified, non-stereotyped "elaboration" (Entfaltung). With the possible exception of 2:1 -- whose precise meaning is in doubt[42] -- the various charges, designated p^{e}ša'îm, are anti-Israel activities of a political-military

character. They range from "territorial encroachment" (1:3) and "the putting of women[43] to the sword" (1:11), to the selling of war-captives (1:9) and the destruction of land (1:3). The states mentioned are Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, Ammon and Moab. No reference is made to the empire states of Egypt and Assyria, a fact of some significance in the light of Am. 7:17, from which it may be inferred that Assyria was not beyond Amos' purview.

Indeed, such historical references as can be identified with any certainty strongly point to a 9th century background. Thus, according to Kaufmann,[44] "the vicious wars of conquest in Gilead alluded to here (1:4)... predate Joash (799-784)" since the latter marks a turn in Israel-Aram relations in Israel's favour (cf. 2K. 13:24-25).[45] Similarly, the phrase (vs. 9) -- ולא שמרו ברית אחים -- reflects the negative turn in Israel-Phoenician relations subsequent to the execution of Jezebel and the cessation of the Ahab dynasty. Finally, the setting of Philistine-Edomite complicity against Israel (vs. 6) and presumably the action described in 2:1 -- the "burning of the king of Edom's bones unto lime" -- is to be sought, according to Kaufmann, in the reign of Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat, (850-843) and Jehoshaphat respectively.[46]

The literary evidence provided by the Begründung elements points in a similar, if less specific, direction. First, there is the stereotyped opening: על שלושה... ועל ארבעה . Now it

is easily demonstrated that this expression originates not in prophetic, but rather in wisdom-circles.[47] Not only is Amos thus ruled out as its creator but - more importantly - the stereotyped character of the expression suggests a prior literary origin.

More revealing still is a comparison of Begründung in its "elaboration" vis-à-vis the foreign nations and Judah-Israel respectively. Whereas the "elaboration" in the foreign-nation is extremely brief, limited to one strophe, that in the anti-Judah, and especially anti-Israel, oracles is relatively long, comprising two and five strophes respectively. This illustrates well the "quantitative" difference between "classical" and O. A. N. prophecy.

The "qualitative" differences are equally clear. Whereas the O. A. N. notices are specific, historical, and political-military, those in the Judah-Israel oracles are general (2:4b, c), non-historical, and socio-moral. It need hardly be demonstrated which type of Begründung is the more characteristic of "classical" prophecy.

In brief, the nature of Begründung in Amos' O. A. N. -- both in its stereotyped and non-stereotyped expressions -- evidences a non-classical typology best explained as part of the pre- "literary" prophetic period.

A further conclusion - though one not bearing on the question of historical setting -- suggests itself in the use of Begründung in Amos' O. A. N. The fact that:

(a) the stereotyped portion is of non-prophetic origin;

(b) the non-stereotyped portion is historically circumscribed;

suggests that the Begründung material in the pre-Amos period did not constitute part of the transmitted stock of O. A. N. or proto- O. A. N. tradition. This, to be sure, does not imply the absence of Begründung in pre-classical prophetic discourse; it does however account -- at least in part -- for the fact that one discerns but one motif-stereotype in the Begründung motifs of post- Amosian O. A. N. collections. This phenomenon contrasts sharply with the multiple motif-stereotypes -- treated, in part, below -- in what concerns Ankündigung or "(doom-) pronouncements".

The various noxious activities perpetrated by the foreign nations are stereotypically designated: p^{e}šaʿîm. The term pešaʿ in the O. T. is occasionally employed as a synonym for hēṭʾ and ʿavôn:[48] e. g. Ex. 34:7, Nu. 14:18. But the √pšʿ elsewhere bears a quasi-technical significance which more adequately reflects its usage in Amos 1:

I K. 12:19 ויפשעו ישראל בבית דוד

2 K. 3:7 מלך מואב פשע בי

Cf. also 2 K. 8:20, 22 (=2 Chr. 21:8, 10)

The √pšʿ in these contexts requires a rendering along the lines of "rebel", "secede" etc.[49] In fact, √pšʿ occurs in Ez. 20:38, Lam. 3:42 in connection with √mrd. The term seems to have carried the specific connotation of "treaty violation" or "covenant breach":

Cp. Hos. 8:1: ... עברו בריתי ועל תורתי פשעו

In Isa. 59:13, 20, we find √pšʿ in parallelism with √šqr and √kḥš: the former is to be found as a designation of treaty-violation in the Sefiré inscriptions.[50] The temptation to assign to √pšʿ in Amos 1 the specific meaning "treaty violation" is offset however by the following considerations:

(a) The reference to violation of "a covenant of brothers"[51] (1:9) would be superfluous.

(b) There is no evidence that Philistia — which never formed part of the Davidic - Solomonic empire—was ever bound by treaty to Israel or Judah.

(c) The plural peša'îm suggests specific offences rather than one general offence of covenant-breach.

This much, however, seems clear: peša' in Amos 1 has little or nothing in common with the abstract and moralistic use of the term hēt' or 'avôn. This conclusion is warranted by the specified elaboration of the peša'îm, the legal - political usages of √pšʿ cited above, as well as the meaning of the verbal element √šwb with which it is conjoined.

The expression lō' 'ašîbennû is commonly rendered "I will not revoke it",[52] "I will not reverse it".[53] The rendering of Hiph'il √šwb by "revoke", "reverse" leaves the suffixed object "it" in a state of ambiguity since it can then hardly refer back either to pešaʿîm or the nation-state, for grammatical[54] and contextual reasons respectively. One is forced to supply an external object such as "anger (of Yahweh)".[55]

An alternate suggestion takes the verb to mean "repay", "pay back", presumably derived from such idiomatic usages as להשיב בראש and להשיב נקם.[56] This interpretation is, to my mind, the correct one, since "nāqām" and "gĕmûl" are key O. A. N. Begründung concepts. Cp:

Jer. 50:15 כאשר עשתה עשו לה

51:6 עת נקמה היא לד'
גמול הוא משלם לה

Particularly instructive are the following examples involving √nqm and √šwb, one an ancient Y. Y. composition (Deut. 32), the other O. A. N. -Y. Y.[57]

Deut. 32:41 אשיב נקם לצרי ולמשנאי אשלם

Ob. 15 כאשר עשית יעשה לך
גמולך ישוב בראשך

The Begründung - role of √šwb + √gml or √nqm is particularly evident in the Obadiah passage: cf. also Jer. 25:14, 51:56; Ez. 25:12, 15-16 and Joel 4:4 (where the foreign nations are accused of acting out of revenge); Nah. 1:2. The wide spread use of the "revenge-motif" in the O. A. N. is, in fact, a major link between it and the Y. Y. tradition.[58]

Though the evidence cited is not conclusive, it seems more reasonable to interpret √šwb in Am. 1 as a reflex of the idiom √šwb (Hiph'il) √nqm/gml. The combination with the negative particle lô' is not an insuperable obstacle, since — as was suggested long ago by P. Haupt[59] — we may presume an original asseverative lû,[60] which has survived but sporadically in the O. T. (e. g. Eccl. 9:4).[61] We would suggest rendering the stereotyped Begründung formula in Amos 1 as follows:

> "For the three rebellious-acts of -----
> yea, for four
> I shall surely return it (i. e. vengeance)."[62]

This interpretation further serves to strengthen the conclusion for a "political" rather than "moralistic" interpretation of peša'im: an act of vengeance -- as distinct from an act of punishment -- presupposes an action to be avenged. One does not avenge moral transgression.

We have previously alluded to the wisdom - influence evidenced by the stereotyped Begründung formula, specifically the parallelistic use of numbers.[63] The favorite alternations are 6/7 (Prov. 6:16, Job 5:19) and 7/8 (Eccles. 11:20). It is, however, Prov. 30 (vss. 15, 18, 21, 29), with its alternating use of 3 and 4 that provides the closest parallel with Amos 1. Significantly, Prov. 30 evidences the combination of maśśaʾ and neʾum.[64] Here, too, we find the expression neʾum haggeber which occurs twice in Nu. 24 (vss. 3, 15) and once in II Sam. 23:1, the latter demonstrably ancient.[65] The evidence is very meagre, but taken into account with the semantic connection between Mošlim and Mišlē,[66] one is tempted to suggest that the stereotype ultimately goes back to the ancient Mošlim tradition.

A second illustration of O. A. N. - "wisdom" tie-in in terms of Begründung is provided by Obadiah.

Ob. 13	אל תבוא בשער עמי ביום אידם
Prov. 27:10	ובית אביך אל תבוא ביום אידך

The stereotyped expression underlying both is: אל תבוא... ביום איד. Indeed, the repetitive use of ʾal in Ob. 12-14 which serves to introduce a series of specific Anklage against Edom, has a strong wisdom ring to it.[67]

The evidence of Begründung in Amos 1 points to the following conclusions:

(a) The originally non-moralistic, political character of charges levelled against the nations.

(b) The secondary role that Begründung plays in O. A. N. prophecy.

(c) That these characteristics belong to the period prior to the emergence of classical prophecy.

IV. The "expansion" motif

The opportunity for a case-study of the development of Begründung from "political" to "moralistic" is provided by an expression first attested in:

Amos 1:3 ... למען הרחיב את גבולם

The expression constitutes part of the specific Anklage directed against Ammon, designating "territorial expansion". As such, it is clearly related to the √yrš - motif previously discussed. There is no evidence that this expression is already stereotyped in Am. 1. The √rḥb in Hiph'il form is, however, attested elsewhere in the O. T. in connection with territory (e. g. Ex. 34:24, Deut. 12:20, 19:8), and at least in one instance (Deut. 33:20) in a pre-Amos source. [68]

By the time of Zeph. 2:8 -- part of a combined anti-Moab/ Ammon oracle -- this motif is already stereotyped.

Zeph. 2:8 ... ויגדילו על גבולם

The use of √gdl instead of √rḥb does not militate against the stereotyped character of the expression. The two terms persist throughout as variants, [69] not unlike √abd - √krt and √yṣt - √šlh, √'ôyēb - √sônē' in the fire - and √yrš- motifs respectively. The stylistic similarity is established by the hiph'il forms of the predicate, and the term gebûlām. A claim for the stereotyped character of the expression in Zeph. 2:8 receives its support from the following considerations.

(a) In Amos 1, the expression finds its natural Sitz-im-Literatur[70] as part of a political-military operation: על בקעם הרות הגלעד In Zeph. 2:8 the context is the non-military -- though war-related[71] -- activities of insult and abuse (√ḥrp̄, √gdp̄). The specific act of territorial expansion is absent.

(b) From a comparison of certain passages -- to be cited presently -- it is clear that the expression at hand, in the course of stylistic "breakdown", comes to denote the act of "taunting" and "abusing". This stage is already represented in:

Zeph. 2:10 ויגדילו על עם ד׳ צבאות

This passage can be seen as a stylistic variation on Zeph. 2:8. The constants are Hiphʿil of √gdl and the preposition. The object, however, is no longer gebûl but rather ʿam YHWH: i. e. the overtly "political" has given way to the quasi-moralistic charge of "taunting".

The "taunting" significance of Zeph. 2:10 is established by the combination with √ḥrp̄ as well as by the context of a stylistically related passage.

Jer. 48:26 השכירהו כי על ד׳ הגדיל...
והיה לשחק גם הוא

The "moralistic" connotation is here still more to the fore: the object of the idiom is not the people of God but God Himself.[72] The "taunting" significance of √śḥq has been previously discussed;[73] the link between it and the higdîl - expression is provided by the adverb "also".

Stylistically viewed, the higdîl - expression in its "taunting" significance is actually an apocopation of the idiom: להגדיל פה .
The idiom in its non-apocopated form occurs in:

Ob. 12 ואל תשמח לבני יהודה ביום אבדם
ואל תגדל פיך ביום צרה

With the synonymous variant √rḥb, the expression occurs in non-O. A. N. contexts dealing with Israel's enemies.

Isa. 57:4 על מי תרחיב פה תאריכו לשון
Ps. 35:21 וירחיבו על פיהם אמרו האח האח

The latter passage in particular evidences a literary relatedness to O. A. N. material:

Ez. 25:3 ... יען אמרך האח
26:2 יען אשר אמרה צר על ירושלים האח

The Ezekiel passages do not employ the higdîl idiom but express the identical idea via √ʾamr heʾāḥ, as Ps. 35:21 makes clear.

In brief, the stereotyped political "charge" represented by "√hgdl / √hrḥb gebûl" in the course of its stylistic development and "breakdown" comes to acquire the quasi-moralistic significance of "√hgdl pe" or "taunting". This development is typical for the development of O. A. N. Begründung generally.[74]

The √hgdl figures in a second and parallel development of O. A. N. Begründung, though not as prominently as before. It was previously observed -- à propos of Amos 1 -- that a significant omission therein is the mention of the empire states Egypt and Assyria/Babylon. This situation clearly could not persist: in keeping with the return of these political titans to the international arena, we expect to --and do in fact -- find repurcussions in the O. A. N. tradition.

As typical of the charges brought against the imperial powers we can point to the following passages:

Isa. 14:17 (O. A. F. R.)	שם חבל כמדבר ועריו הרס
Ez. 32:23	אשר נתנו חתית בארץ חיים
Nah. 3:19	כי על מי לא עברה רעתך תמיד

Such charges are unmistakable in their allusions to the predatory empire states: fear and destruction on a global scale. It remains however to be determined to what extent this change in historical circumstances -- beginning in the second half of the 8th century - has altered the basic outlook of the O. A. N. tradition in terms of Begründung. This question we propose to discuss under three headings:

(a) "Israel" vs "universal" orientation.

(b) The use of moralistic criteria.

(c) Literary influence.

(A)

Even from the few examples cited above, one is immediately impressed by a shift of setting and concern. The area of Syria-Palestine has given way to all of the known-world; the concern is no longer with petty border - strife, localized both in its manifestations and its effects, but with military conquests effecting upheaval in the world-order. Indeed, one is tempted to conclude that a profound change has occurred in the traditional O. A. N. outlook: no longer is Israel alone on the stage of history but humanity as a whole; the spokesmen for the tradition

no longer see Israel's fate alone as the acid-test for uttering their threats and abuses. Concomitant with a broadening of geographic horizens there would seen to have emerged a widening of human perspective.

All this is true, but to a limited degree. The passages to be cited forthwith make it abundantly clear that if Israel and her fate are no longer alone on the historical stage, they still occupy the centre position.

In Jer. 50:11 the Babylonians are condemned as: שוסי נחלתי
In 51:24 they are to be made to pay: (על) רעתם אשר עשו בציון
Cp. further:

Joel 4:2 על עמי ונחלתי אשר פזרו בגוים

4:19 מצרים לשממה תהיה...
מחמס בני יהודה אשר שפכו דם-נקיא בארצם

The "crime" of the empire-states, to be sure, is against all of humanity; but it is their actions against Israel that weigh down the scales of punishment: destruction of Zion, exile of its people, the spilling of innocent Israelite blood. The Israel-orientation of the older tradition has been somewhat enlarged; it has not, however, been superseded.

(B)

The language employed in connection with charges against the empire-states shows a further development of moralistic criteria, a development witnessed above in the case of the taunting-motif. The passages hitherto cited can be adduced as evidence. Note, firstly, the use of the term rāʿā to describe the offenses: Nah. 3:19, Jer. 51:24. It can further be seen in the emphasis on "innocent blood" in Joel 4:19. Most significant of all, however, are Isa. 14:17, Ez. 32:23. The motivational ethic is no longer determined by a double-standard: Israel and non-Israel. To this may be added, finally the witness of the following passages:

Hab. 2:6 הוי המרבה לא - לו

Joel 2:20 ואת הצפוני ארחיק מעליכם...
כי הגדיל לעשות

Both passages are significant as links with the older tradition and will be discussed forthwith. Yet note the ethical censure implicit in the expressions לא - לו and הגדיל לעשות. In the former we find the implicit distinction between "just" and "unjust" due, the idea of "right of possession" and the immorality of unrightful possession. In the latter we confront similarly the idea of "limitation" and "moderation", the idea - implicit at least - that "quantitative" and "qualitative" are part of one continuum of ethical conduct.

(C)

In the previous two paragraphs we attempted to point out similarities and differences between the "older" and "newer" strata of O. A. N. tradition in terms of standards and orientation. Here we should like to discuss the question of literary contact.

It is already clear from the foregoing that the political-military framework is dominant in the post-8th century tradition. That this represents a carry-over from the earlier period seems beyond question. Two passages in particular -- the above cited Hab. 2:6 and Joel 2:20 -- reflect additionally a degree of stylistic dependency.

The Hab. passage is for all intents and purposes identical with the expansion-motif discussed previously. The phrase might aptly serve as a substitute for הרחיב/הגדיל גבול in the context of Transjordanian expansionism of the pre- 8th century era.

More striking still is the expression in Joel 2:20: הגדיל לעשות. I am inclined to regard this phrase - which we should render: for "he hath acted excessively"[75] -- as a reflex of the higdil - stereotype in an advanced stage of stylistic breakdown.[76] If I am right, it would be evidence of the prophet's poetic dexterity in thus conscripting for his use a stereotyped expression authored under such completely different circumstances. It would be, furthermore, evidence for the tenacity with which a literary tradition holds on to its stereotyped language, a tenacity which, it would appear, has been demonstrated in the course of the entire study.

The motif-development illustrated by the higdil-expression ---- "territorial expansion", "taunting", "excessiveness"---accurately reflects, at least in broad outline, the changing historical circumstances that affected Israelite history from the ninth to the sixth centuries B. C. E. The motif of "territorial expansion" finds its historical locus in the internecine strife in Syria-Palestine prior to c. 750 B. C. E. The motif of "taunting" and "excessiveness" can be understood in the light of the brutual imperialism of the Assyro-Babylonian era: the fractious petty kingdoms of Syria-Palestine have now been reduced to passive bystanders, their mutual enmity finding expression in scorn, derision, and malicious rejoicing at each other's distress and misfortune. "Excessiveness" and "taunting" are accordingly reflections of the same historical epoch.

A final stage of development sees the motif acquire a "salvational" connotation (cf. Joel 2:21; Ps. 126:2-3) and is applied to Israel's deliverance from captivity and its return to Zion.

Still, the complex development of this motif does not do full justice to the process of "moralisation" in the O. A. N. The high point is reached in terms of a charge best defined as "hubris", one distinguished from those hitherto examined by its reference not to a specifically anti-Israelite act but to the "inner life" of the accused nations. Similarly, the quantatative increase in the form-critical role of

Begründung is largely in terms of this motif. In the O. A. F. R. this motif is destined to flower into elaborate allegory replete with mythological allusions. It is at this point accordingly that the O. A. N. tradition most closely approaches the "classical" prophetic tradition.

V. The "hubris" motif

A. The "hubris" motif finds its expression in such terms as ga'ôn, ga'ava and the √bṭḥ.[77] The charge is most prominent in Ezeckiel's O. A. N. collection while constituting the definitive Begründung motif in the oracles directed to foreign rulers (e. g. Ez. 28; Is. 14).[78] Two main sub-divisions of the hubris-motif are discernible:

(a) "self-assurance"; "overweening self-confidence"

(b) "conceit" and "illusions of grandeur"

Examples of the former are:

(i) Applied to the "people":

Jer. 48:7 יען בטחך במעשיך ובאוצרותיך

49:31 גוי שַׁלֵו יושב לבטח

Zeph. 2:15 העיר העליזה היושבת לבטח .

(ii) Applied to the "ruler":

Ez. 28:4 בחכמתך ובתבונתך עשית לך חיל

Examples of the latter are:

(i) Applied to the "people":

Jer. 49:16 (=Ob. 3) תפלצתך השיא אותך זדון לבך

Ez. 27:3	את אמרת אני כלילת יפי
Zeph. 2:15 (=Isa. 47:8, 10)	האמרה בלבבה אני ואפסי עוד
Jer. 46:7-8	מי זה כיאר יעלה...
	ויאמר אעלה אכסה ארץ

(ii) Applied to the "ruler":[79]

Isa. 14:13	ואתה אמרת בלבבך השמים אעלה
Ez. 29:1f	אשר אמר לי יארי ואני עשיתני

It is especially noteworthy that no mention is made of political-military activity directed against Israel. Though specific ethical terminology is still rare -- note however the use of zādôn Jer. 49:16, (=Ob. 3),[80] cp. also Isa. 13:11 -- the frame of reference is at least metaphorically "personal" rather than "political". The idea underlying Jer. 48:7, Ez. 27:3 is essentially identical with that of Amos 3:2, 9:7 and Jer. 7:4, the attack on the "chosen-people" and "invincibility" concepts respectively. The difference is in terms of the prophet's emotional involvement. The attitude in the O. A. N. is largely ironic, evidenced here by the taunting-device of direct-quotation, and delight in the subject's downfall.[81] Contrasting sharply with this attitude is the note of pathos in Jeremiah's response to Hananiah ben Azur:

(28:6): אמן כן יעשה ד' יקים ד' את דבריך

B. Despite the transition from the "political" to the "personal" evidenced by the "hubris" motif, it can hardly be concluded that the latter represents a fully-developed moral consciousness. Specifically, one is still hard-put to discover evidence of ethical terminology employed in connection with foreign nations. The same is true of the attitude toward foreign religious practice. With one exception, one searches in vain for an anti-idoltary polemic in the O. A. N.

Isa. 22:14 אם יכפר העון הזה לכם עד תמתון

Jer. 25:12 אפקד על מלך בבל ועל הגוי ההוא... את עונם

The "peculiar" feature of these passages is their use of the term ʿavôn. Significantly, however, they are embedded in contexts which are otherwise a-typical: Isa. 22, though introduced by maśśaʾ, lacks the characteristic designation of a foreign nation-state, while Jer. 25:12 is not, strictly speaking, part of the O. A. N. collection.[82]

The evidence for condemnation in religious terms is:

Jer. 50:38b ... כי ארץ פסילים היא

This "charge" is of a piece with the polemic against foreign idolatry found in II Isaiah (e. g. 46:1ff),[83] and is truly unique in the O. A. N. materials. According to Gunkel,[84] this phenomenon of anti-pagan polemic is the result of first-hand encounter with Babylonian religion during the exile.

The meagre attestations of such moral and theological charges serves to strengthen the conviction that the O. A. N. tradition, especially in its early stage, is "politically", rather than "morally" or "theologically" oriented. The gulf between O. A. N. and "classical" prophecy is only partially narrowed in the course of prophetic history. That the O. A. N. tradition is totally a product of the classical-prophetic period is thus ruled out. On the other hand, the process of moralisation and theological-orientation so characteristic of classical prophecy suggest that the latter cannot be denied a role in the development of this tradition. If the classical prophets did not create the O. A. N., they most certainly did not reject it out of hand.

NOTES TO "BEGRÜNDUNG"

1. For an explanation of this and other form-critical terminology, cf. below, pp. 233f.

2. Chr. Kaiser Verlag (München, 1960).

3. Ibid., pp. 15-21 and especially pp. 16-17.

4. J. Lindblom, Die-literarische Gattung der Prophetischen Literatur (1924); L. Kohler, Deuterojesaja Stilkritisch untersucht (1923), pp. 102-105; Kleine Lichter, (1945), pp. 13-17.

5. The idea of the classical prophets as - שליחים — rendered by M. Greenberg, The Religion of Israel, passim, "apostles", "apostolic"— is a central concept in Y. Kaufmann's Tôl^{e}dôt ha-Emūnāh..., vol. 1, pp. 720ff, and passim. Lindblom's afore-cited work is listed as a bibliographical entry in Vol. III, p. יג. Cf. now Muilenberg, "The Office of the Prophet" in The Bible in Modern Scholarship, pp. 96-7.

6. Op. cit., p. 61.

7. E.g. Steuernagel, Lehrbuch... (1912), vol. II, pp. 457ff; cf. Westermann, op. cit., p. 9f.

8. Cf. Westermann, op. cit., pp. 1-61 and especially pp. 46-49.

9. Gunkel considered the most ancient prophets essentially as clairvoyants and the O. A. N. as the best example of ancient prophecy (Cf. "Introduction" above). According to Gunkel, the majority of speech-types employed by the classical prophets are non-prophetic in origin. (Cf. Westermann, op. cit., p. 17).

10. Westermann himself is not exempt from this charge; cf. below, p. 235. For a basic criticism of this terminological confusion, cf. Reventlow, Der Amt des Propheten, pp. 13, 111. The latter is displeased with the dichotomy of Heil - and unHeil for cultic-institutional reasons.

11. Op. cit., pp. 46-49.

12. On this latter point, Westermann acknowledges his debt to Wolff (ZAW, (1934), p. 1ff).

13. Op. cit., p. 122.

14. Ibid., p. 121. The validity of this distinction is open to serious question. Not only the O. A. N. tradition but also the Balaam prophecies are evidence against it.

15. Ibid., pp. 127-128.

16. Westermann appears to have overlooked this variation in his discussion of non-classical prophecy in its relation to classical prophecy. Cf. below, p. 237.

17. Ibid., p. 147.

18. Ibid., p. 147.

19. The sole exception is the promise of "return from exile (šwb šḇût)" Cf. discussion of the "exile"-motif.

20. Op. cit., pp. 147-8.

21. E.g. the "fire-motif" above, p. 243.

22. Ibid., p. 148.

23. Ibid., p. 115.

24. Ibid., pp. 69, 116.

25. Ibid., p. 128 and above, p. 234.

26. Ibid., p. 141.

27. The curse-term √qbh -- cf. H. Brichto, The Problem of Curse... (1963) -- is found in the narrative portions only. The typical curse -- involving √ʾarr -- is found (e.g.) in Deut. 27-28.

28. Cf. E.g. Reventlow, Wächter über Israel, p. 155:

> in dem Verkündigungsformen der Fremdvölkerworte gegenüber den an Israel gerichteten Worten, keinerlei Unterschied zu bemerken ist.

29. E.g. Jer. 28:7, 29; Ez. 25:3, 6, 7.

30. Op. cit., p. 121.

31. Gressman, Ursprung..., p. 148: "Naturkatastrophe durch eine ethische Motivierung niemals verstandlich gemacht werden kann." Cf. also Westermann (op. cit., p. 148), above, p. 236.

32. The question of "authenticity" with regard to the Judah-oracle does not materially affect the argument. Clements--Prophecy and Covenant (1965)--remarks (p. 43, n. 3): "The Judah oracle shows obvious traces of 'deuteronomistic' editing." Cf. above, "fire-motif", note 4.

33. For the meaning of peša' in Amos 1. Cf. below, pp. 246-249.

34. The "exceptional" .1% is discussed below, pp. 262-263.

35. Cf. above, chap. 1: "The Day of Yahweh..." and below, p. 248.

36. By "punishment" we understand a response to an action made on an assumption of a "wrong" having been committed, which "wrong" is determined as such by reference to some objective standard. "Recompense", on the other hand, is a response to an action where the determination "wrong", if at all made, is done with reference not to the action per se but in terms of the subjective criteria of "doer" and "victim". In Kantian terms, "punishment" presupposes the conception of an action as violating a "universal maxim"; "recompense" does not.

37. For a preliminary consideration of this problem, cf. "Conclusion" (B), below.

38. Cf. above "The War Motifs", for a discussion of the "fire-motif" in this collection.

39. Already Baudissen: Cf. Westermann, op. cit., p. 120, n. 1. The same is true for Biblical literature as a whole. Cf. U. Cassuto, " ראשית ההיסטוריוגרפיה " EI 1 (1951), pp. 85-88.

40. Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 61-62. The argumentation follows presently.

41. E. g. in Ugaritic literature: cf. below, p. 250.

42. Kaufmann -- op. cit., II, p. 62 -- follows Rashi in locating this episode in the Israel-Moabite war (2 K. 3). The objections to this interpretation are summarized in the ICC to "Amos and Hosea", p. 40. Tur-Sinai -- הלשון והספר I, pp. 84-5, following Eissfeldt's study, Molk als Opferbegriff...--writes: בשום מקום במקרא אין רמז לכך ששרפו בני מואב את עצמותיו של איזה מלך אדם לשיד. He prefers to read: מֹלֶךְ אָדָם -- a human sacrifice -- rather than: מֶלֶךְ אֱדֹם

43. For √rḥm="women", especially those captured in war, cf. Ju. 5:30. Outside the O. T. cf. Mesha, line 17; UM, Glossary 1756. LXX reads μητέρα (a case of לשון נקיה?).

44. Cf. note 36. A most recent discussion of the historical background of Amos' prophecies is S. Cohen, HUCA 36 (1965), pp. 153-160. Regarding Amos 1, the author concludes (p. 155) that there are references both contemporaneous and past. Cf. now also, M. Haran, BIES (1966), pp. 56-59 (below, note 46).

45. Note the literary parallel between: Am. 1:13 (vs. Ammon)

על בקעם הרות הגלעד

2K. 8:12 והרתיהם חבקע

As in Amos, the √hrh in 2K. 8:12 is used to denote pregnant women. S. Cohen, (op. cit., p. 155) rejects the 9th cent. association.

46. Cf., however, note 40. M. Haran -- BIES 30 (1966), pp. 56-69 - has most recently taken issue with Kaufmann on these points (ibid., p. 61f). Haran, however, does concede that the O. A. N. chapter reflects a period no later than the beginning of Jerobaam II's reign. To maintain Amos' direct familiarity with this period, Haran is forced to posit the prophet's ministry in the early years of this king, contrary to general opinion.

47. This has been pointed out by numerous scholars. Cf. Lindblom, VT Supplement III, pp. 202-3; Terrien, in Israel's Prophetic Heritage (Muilenberg Festschrift), p. 109. The most recent discussions are G. Sauer, Die Sprüche Agurs (BWANT 4) W. M. W. Roth, V. T. Supp. XIII. The latter denies that Am. 1:3ff qualifies as "numerical sayings" (p. 63, n. 3) and thus says nothing more about it.

48. Cf., of late, R. Knierim, Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde in Alten Testament (1965). In discussing the term $p^{e}\check{s}a'$ in Am. 1, the author draws attention to Ex. 22:8 but not 2 K. 3:1, suggesting that he considers the term in Am. 1 "als rechtlicher terminus technicus."

49. Cf. ICC. op. cit., p. 14: "The word rendered transgression really means rebellion."

50. Cf. Hoftijzer-Jean, Dictionnaire..., s. v.

51. Cf. J. B. Priest, JBL (1965), pp. 400-406, who defends the historicity of this reference.

52. Cf. ICC, op. cit., p. 16.

53. So (e.g.) JPS translation.

54. The doubling of the nûn energicum indicates a contraction from -- or equivalence to -- * אשיבנהו : Cf. Ex. 15:2, Dt. 32:10 (G-K §58j). In Ugaritic, 3m.s. suffix (-h) occurs with nûn energicum as -nh, -nn, and -n (Gordon, UM, 6.17). The grammatical possibilities of -nnû are thus reduced to two: reference is either to the nation-state or to an implied impersonal object.

55. So ICC, op. cit., p. 16.

56. E.g., Ju. 9:57, I Sam. 25:39; Ps. 28:4, 81:15, 94:2.

57. Outside the O.A.N.-Y.Y., cf. Ps. 28:4, Prov. 12:14, Lam. 3:64.

58. Cf. chap. 1, above.

59. OLZ (1907), pp. 305-309; cited by F. Nötscher, "Zum emphatischen Lamed", VT 3 (1953), pp. 372-80. Nötscher himself rejects the asseverative interpretation in Amos 1, on the grounds that the present reading -- lô' -- "einen brauchbaren Sinn ergibt". (p. 347)

60. Asseverative "lamed" comes into Arabic as "lă", into Accadian as "lū" (cf. G-K, Ges. Heb. Gr., #143e; Ungnad-Matoush, Akkadische Grammatik, #60b) and in Ugaritic appears as "l(u?)" (Cf. Aisleitner, Wörterbuch... no. 1423: "meist vor Verba"; Gordon, UM, no. 992). For asseverative "Kaph", cf. R. Gordis, JAOS 63 (1943), pp. 176-178; S. Talmon, BASOR (1964), p. 33.

61. The final aleph can be accounted for as the result of dittography, especially once the use of the asseverative had become archaic; and/or a textual conflation in the manner of 2 Sam. 18:12, 19:7. Cf. also Job 3:16, where לוֹ אהיה = לא אהיה.

62. An alternative rendering of ʾašibennû might be: "I shall return (upon) them" with "vengeance" understood, in a double-accusative construction, similar to the idiom "to answer" with √šwb e.g. IK. 12:6 להשיב את העם הזה דבר . The omission of √nqm/√gml would then be a case of idiomatic ellipsis. A fine example of this is Jer. 48:26 (discussed below, p. 253) where כי על ד׳ הגדיל is actually an apocopation of * כי על ד׳ הגדיל פה
Cf. also Ps. 99:8: *אל נשא עון היית = אל נשא היית

63. In the Ugaritic literature the common alternations are 7/8 (e.g. Krt, lines 8-9) and multiples thereof (e.g. 77/88 : UM 75:II:49-50). Cf. also Gevirtz, Patterns..., p. 18f.

64. Cf. however, "maśśaʾ", note (31).

65. Cp. hapax leg. " כלהם " (vs. 6), the uncontracted form of " כלם ", with Ug. klhm (e.g., Krt:95. Cf. Aisleitner, op. cit., no. 1320, 6*.) and note the similarly archaic divine name (or epithet) " עֵל " in vs. 1 known in Ugaritic (cf. Gordon, UM, Gloss. no. 1402 and bibliography there cited.) Cf. also W. F. Albright, ARI[4], p. 126:

> The antiquity of this little poem is sufficiently established by the fact that it begins exactly like the two archaic poems of Balaam in Nu. 24.

66. Cf. the discussion of the "Wailing-motif", above.

67. Cf. Prov. 3:1ff; Eccles. 5:1-7; 7:9-10. The hortative "'al" is to be found as well in prophetic and psalmodic "wisdom": e. g. Jer. 9:22-23; Ps. 37:1f (cf. Mowinckel, VT Supplement III, pp. 205-224, and especially p. 215, bottom.)

The frequency of "'al -- hortative" in Deuteronomy (e. g. ch. 20, passim, 31:6) may perhaps be attributed to the pronounced wisdom-influence in this book: cf. M. Weinfeld, in Sēfer Kaufmann (1960), pp. 89-108; J. Malfroy, VT XV (1965), pp. 49-66.

68. Note the fact that a transjordanian tribe---Gad---figures in the expression.

69. Cf. presently, below.

70. I am indebted to L. A. Schökel (VT Supplement VII (1959), p. 162) for this expression.

71. Cp. I Sam. 17:43-45.

72. Cf. previous note.

73. Cf. the "Wailing Motif", above.

74. Cf. shortly, below.

75. KJV, RSV, JPS all render "he hath done great things". This is appropriate for the expression in its salvation-connotation (in the following verse 21; Ps. 126:2-3), not as a motif of universal destruction.

76. Cp. also Joel 4:4 למען הרחיקם מעל גבולם
Amos 1:13 למען הרחיב את גבולם
i. e. the "expansion"-stereotype has been altered to fit the new historical circumstances, viz. "exile".

77. Some instances of these terms' usage suggest the motif of "taunting": e. g. Isa. 16:6, Jer. 48:29. It is not impossible that the hubris-motif develops from that of "taunting", since--as we shall presently observe--the hubris-motif is almost always part of a prophetic taunt.

78. Cf. below, "The O. A. F. R.".

79. Cp. also Ez. 28:2, 16; 31:2, 10, 18a; 32:2, 38:11; Isa. 37:29.

80. Cf. Mal. 3:10, where "√zdh" is combined with "rešaʿim". Even this term, however, is not unambiguously "moral": cf. Ex. 21:14, where it expresses a legal violation.

81. E. g. Isa. 14:7-8, 16; Ez. 28:17.

82. This is inferred from the arrangement in the LXX. The latter breaks away from MT at 25:15.

83. The following comparison is noteworthy: Isa. 46:2

with Jer. 48:46, Ez. 30:18, and Nu. 21:29. Cf. above, "exile-motif".

84. Schöpfung und Chaos, (1895), pp. 121-123.

CHAPTER V - THE ORACLES AGAINST FOREIGN RULERS (O. A. F. R.)

I. Introduction

Modern biblical scholarship has long been attracted by the prophetic compositions that we have designated O. A. F. R., viz. Isa. 14, Ez. 28; 31; 32, for reasons which are not difficult to determine. In addition to their literary quality,[1] these poems abound in mythological and quasi-mythological themes and allusions, features which are highly welcome in the comparativistic atmosphere that has prevailed in the discipline for the past half-century. The validity of this cause-and-effect determination is repeatedly vindicated when one examines the relevant literature in terms both of their issue-orientation and analytical procedures. The central problems are invariably:

(a) The identification of the Hēlēl ben Šaḥar myth in the light of comparative mythological materials.

(b) The paradise-myth of Ez. 28:12-20: its relationship to the Genesis version and mythological antecedents.

Representative studies are H. Gunkel's Schöpfung und Chaos[2]..., O. Eissfeldt's Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios[3]..., J. Morgenstern, "The Mythological Background of Ps. 82,"[4] J. L. McKenzie's "Literary Characteristics of Gen. 2-3" and his "Mythological Allusions in Ez. 28:12-18",[5] R. Grélot, "Isaie XIV 12-15,"[6] M. H. Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts,[7] G. Quell's "Jesaja 14, 1-23,"[8] H. G. May's "The King in the Garden of Eden,"[9] and K. Yaron's "The Dirge over the King of Tyre."[10]

While little in the realm of comparative mythology has remained unexplored in the aforementioned studies, virtually no attention has been paid to questions of a form-critical nature posed by this material.[11] Specifically: while cognizant of thematic inter-relationships between the various poems, scholars on the whole have remained oblivious to the unity of literary structure that they evidence, a unity which points unmistakably to a relatively fixed form of composition, what Gunkel termed a literary Gattung. Nor has the question of these compositions' relation to the O. A. N. tradition been posed, and the bearing that this relation, once established, has on the question of "date", the latter the subject of considerable scholarly disagreement.

Though not oblivious to the questions of comparative mythology, this study has as its main objective the form-critical issues just raised.

II. The O.A.N. - O.A.F.R. Relationship

On the basis of the foregoing studies of the O.A.N. tradition, the O.A.F.R. lends itself to a four-point form-critical comparison.

(A) The treatment of "Kingship"

(B) "Motivation"

(C) The use of mŝl and qînāh motifs

(D) The use of mythologically-colored allegory

(A) Kingship

In their respective treatments of "kingship", the O.A.F.R. and the O.A.N. are a study in contrasts. In a previous study,[12] we discussed at some length the stereotyped מלך ושרים. We observed that the idiom -- though of unknown origin -- makes its appearance in the O.A.N. tradition by the mid- 8th century as part of a more general "exile-motif". Now the concept of "kingship" - or better, "rulership" - that this idiom presupposes is significant as a basis of comparison with the O.A.F.R. in light of the fact that nowhere is this idiom to be found in the latter.[13] The full significance of this discrepancy, however, can only be appreciated given more detailed references to "kingship" and "rulership" in the O.A.N. tradition.

A convenient point of departure is Amos 1:1-2:3. Reference is made to the foreign ruler in all but two of the oracles (Tyre and Edom).

The term "melekh" occurs twice (1:9, 15), with stylistic variants -- yošeb, šophet, tômekh šēbeṭ -- accounting for five more. One reference - albeit indirect - to an actual dynasty occurs in vs. 1:4.

A number of conclusions suggest themselves on the basis of the foregoing evidence.

(a) The loss of kingship is but one element utilized by the prophet in his forecast of doom, a component -- though not indispensable -- factor in the sequence of disasters to be visited upon the offending nation.

(b) It is furthermore clear that the oracles are not interested in the king qua individual, but rather in the nation whose central institution he embodies. This can be discerned both from the "Motivation" as well as the "Punishment" motifs: the charges are applicable and applied to the nation in toto. The one instance of a "crime" which seems to be connected with a personal act by the Moabite ruler[14] (2:1) is an exception which proves the rule: the peša' is assigned to Moab collectively. Nor is the fate of the ruler - where reference is made thereto - a purely individual one: it is rather a fate which the ruler shares with his ministers.

It may be concluded, accordingly, that "kingship" in Am. 1:2ff is conceived of as part of the nation's corporate leadership, the loss of which is identical with the loss of political independence. One searches these oracles in vain for even the slightest hint of an individualized status for the king, much less for a characterization in terms of divine pretensions. In sum, the king is no "personality".

The aforesaid applies to the O.A.N. tradition as a whole. The loss of corporate leadership in a sequence of destruction is illustrated by the following examples. In the first and third one can even detect the stereotyped expression: מלך ושרים.

1. Isa. 34:6-15

(i) vss. 6-10: mass slaughter; calamities of Nature

(ii) vs. 11: the "disinheritance" motif

(iii) vs. 12:[15] חריה ואין-שם מלוכה יקראו וכל שריה יהיו אפס

(iv) vss. 13f: decay and desolation

2. Isa. 19:10

(i) vs. 2: civil war

(ii) vs. 4: [16] וסכרתי את מצרים ביד אדנים קשה
ומלך עז ימשל בם

(iii) vss. 5-7: Nature calamities

(iv) vss. 8-10: Lament-motifs

The reference in vs. 4 signifies the loss of political independence via the deposing of the native - or popular - dynasty, and is reminiscent of Assyrian policy.[17]

3. Jer. 49:36-38

(i) vss. 36-37: The motif of mass-exile and military defeat

(ii) vs. 38: ושמתי כסאי בעילם
והאבדתי משם מלך ושרים

The collective-leadership approach of the O. A. N. in which the king is conceived of as a primus inter pares is thus seen to achieve stereotyped expression in the idiom מלך ושרים. This approach sharply differentiates the O. A. N. from the O. A. F. R. In the latter the king is personally and directly addressed. He emerges as a distinct personality, rebuked for personal failings - especially hubris - and doomed to a personal fate. Even where the "charges" reflect national characteristics -- "greed", "cruelty", etc. -- they are personalized as the shortcomings of the ruler. The supporting actors in these dramatic portrayals are similarly kings and not nations, while the mythologically-colored allegories -- unique to the O. A. F. R. -- involve in at least one case the theme of a struggle for rulership.

The evidence on which these conclusions rest will be examined in detail in the course of this study. We turn now to a second area of comparison between the O. A. N. and the O. A. F. R., viz. "Motivation" (Begründung). We intend to show that in this respect the O. A. F. R. represents the crystallization of "late" O. A. N. tendencies: the moralistic

and theological -- as opposed to political -- concerns; the emphasis on the "internal" rather than the "external"; a universalized rather than Israel-oriented frame of reference.

(B) Motivation

In a previous discussion we attempted to show that the development of Begründung in the O. A. N. tradition was characterized by a number of features ultimately traceable to classical-prophetic influence: the transition from the specific to the general; from the local to the global; from the anti-Israelite act to the internal national failing. We witnessed the slight but unmistakable intrusion of moralistic language and criteria and, in one case, the predication of punishment on a basis of idolatrous religious practice.

A number of these features were seen in terms of the hubris-motif. Nor is it coincidental that the examples of this motif marshalled from the O. A. N. tradition were invariably paralleled by examples drawn from the O. A. F. R. material.[18] The motif of hubris is the absolutely dominant Begründung motif in the O. A. F. R., finding expression in a variety of sub-motifs more or less appropriate to the subject addressed. Contrast this with the similarly dominant political-military anti-Israelite act so characteristic of the O. A. N. tradition, especially in its early stages. For while the hubris-motif in the O. A. F. R. is frequently rendered into

political-military terms - e.g. Is. 14:12, 14:17 - the frame of reference is, with one "exception", universal rather than Israelite. Thus Is. 14:7-8:

נחה שקטה כל הארץ פצחו רנה ...
מאז שכבת לא יעלה הכרת עלינו

The עלינו does not refer to Israel specifically but includes all the ארזי הלבנון, i.e. the nations of the world.

The exception cited above is Ez. 29:6, part of an oracle against Pharoah:

יען היותם משענת קנה לבית ישראל

The charge is Israel-oriented and is paralleled by Is. 36:6 (= 2K. 18:21). And yet this one "exception" is only apparently so. As we shall demonstrate below, Ez. 29:2-8 is in fact a "mixed type", combining O.A.N. and O.A.F.R. features. Here we need only note that the oracle is addressed "to Pharoah king of Egypt... and to Egypt as a whole" (vs. 2), while the verb in the above-quoted verse 6 is plural - rather than singular - in form (היותם). A most illuminating illustration of the "internal" character of O.A.F.R. Begründung is Isa. 14:20:

כי ארצך שחת עמך הרגת

In its military overtones this phrase is typically O.A.N. Yet note well the second person possessive suffixes: "your country... your people". Compare with this Jer. 50:11: שוסי נחלתי

Joel 4:2 : על עמי ועל נחלתי

The "moralizing" process has gone so far that even the universal-orientation of the late O. A. N. and O. A. F. R. tradition has been transcended by the poet's empathetic commiseration with his own country's historic enemy, the Assyro-Babylonian peoples.

The moralistic trend in the O. A. F. R. is in other ways observable. First, we find considerable evidence of outright moral categories, though still not to the same degree as in the classical prophetic tradition.

In Is. 14:5 we find the terms "rulers" (מושלים) and evil-doers (רשעים) used in synonymous parallelism. Ez. 28:15 speaks of the "innocence" (√tmm) of the angelic paradise hero who is, however, ultimately discovered to be "defective" (√'awl)[19], while verse sixteen continues in the same vein, describing the "criminality" (חמס) consequent to excessive commercial enterprise and concludes with: ואחטא

But far and away the most decisive evidence for the moralizing process is the uniquely O. A. F. R. feature of the wisdom-type "maxim", a feature which turns out to be the ideological raison-d'être for the "type" as a whole.

Isa. 14:10 גם אתה חלית כמונו אלינו נמשלת

Ez. 31:14 למען אשר לא יגבהו בקומתם כל עצי יער
כי כלם נתנו למות.

Cp. Job 3:13-19

The O.A.N. tradition, it was previously suggested,[20] may have served at one time a cultic function; its ultimate purpose would thereby have been more than literary. At the very least, however, one can confidently assert that its function was not didactic. The O.A.F.R. on the other hand turns out to be precisely that: didactic. This explains a number of similarly distinct O.A.F.R. features: the use of mšl in its parable or allegorical -- rather than original "taunt" -- connotation,[21] and the artistically complex mode of composition. Whatever the case with the O.A.N. - especially in its early stages - the O.A.F.R. has a purely literary character and didactic function. In the examples above, the reader - or listener - was to be impressed by the single and uniform fate that overtakes all, be they kings or slaves.[22]

The same didactic quality attaches to a theologically colored version of the O.A.F.R. maxim found in Ez. 29:6, evidence both for the moralizing character and theological Tendenz of the O.A.F.R.:

וידעו כל ישבי מצרים כי אני ד׳

The expression is typically Ezechiel, designated by Zimmerli[23] the "Erkenntnisformel." According to Reventlow,[24] its origin is to be sought in the Holiness Code. In any case it is clearly not indigenous to the O.A.N. tradition but represents rather classical - prophetic influence.

In sum, it may be fairly concluded that in its use of moralistic terminology, internal criteria of Motivation, universalized frame of reference, and theological concerns, the O. A. F. R. represents a crystallization of "late" O. A. N. trends and tendencies stemming from the latter's ever increasing subjection to classical prophetic influence.

(C) Mšl - Qînāh

A third area where the O. A. F. R. lends itself to fruitful comparison with the O. A. N. tradition is the use of "taunt" and "lament". In the foregoing study devoted to these elements in the O. A. N., their origin and development, we drew a number of conclusions relevant to the present undertaking.

(i) The lament-motifs had the force of mockery or "taunt" in the O. A. N., in which usage it was preceded by its prototype, the Mošlim tradition.

(ii) In agreement with Eissfeldt[25] concerning the use of "taunt" generally in the O. A. N., we concluded that it survived as a literary substratum within a tradition which more and more - under classical prophetic influence - changed from "taunt" to "threat".

(iii) In disagreement with Eissfeldt[26] concerning the taunting use of lament-motifs in the O.A.F.R., we concluded that rather than constituting an expression of "patriotic fanatacism of the exilic and post-exilic periods", the O.A.F.R. represented a revival of O.A.N. tradition features which had become substratal, but - as with any revival - one could distinguish the original from the secondary. For example, the stereotyped combination of √yll - √šdd was nowhere to be found in the O.A.F.R.; so too, the detailed references to the mourning ritual seen e.g. in Isa. 15-16.

A detailed study of "lament" and "taunt" elements in the O.A.F.R. substantiates the conclusion that the latter represents a stylized revival, presumably as part of an overall "archaizing" technique, of typical O.A.N. features.[27]

The main stylistic evidence for "lament" features is the employment of the formulaic introduction: איך . Examples are Is. 14:4, 12. In Ezechiel, we find explicit notice that the following composition is a "dirge": 28:12, 32:2. Additional testimony is provided by the abundant use of √npl -- Is. 14:12; Ez. 31:13, 16 -- the √škb in Isa. 14:8, the consistent references to the "underworld" (Še'ol)(Is. 14:11), 'ereṣ taḥtît (Ez. 31:14) and bôr (Ez. 31:14),[28] and occasionally (Is. 14:4ff) the 3:2 lament-metre.

Non-lament taunt motifs are expressed principally via the stylistic device of direct quotation. This takes two forms: in the mouth of the subject where it is intended to illustrate the latter's hubris-filled character, the conceited self-evaluation; in the mouth of others, the disparity between pretention and fact, between past and present, as such giving expression to the prophetic maxim.[29]

(i)	Isa. 14:13	ואתה אמרת בלבבך
	Ez. 28:2	ותאמר אל אני
(ii)	Is. 14:10	כלם יענו ויאמרו אליך
	Is. 14:16	ראיך אליך ישגיחו ... הזה האיש מרגיז הארץ
(iii)	Ez. 28:17	לפני מלכים נתתיך לראוה בך
	Ez. 28:9	האמר תאמר אלהים אני לפני הרגך

It is clear that the O. A. F. R. reveals itself at this point as the legitimate offspring of the O. A. N. tradition. The lament formulary ʾēkh, the √npl, the taunting device of direct quotation, all can be paralleled in traditional O. A. N. -- and even proto - O. A. N. -- sources.[30] At the same time, however, one is struck by certain discrepancies. If the O. A. F. R. attests the formulary ʾēkh, it knows nothing of "wailing" and related mourning terminology e. g. hôi, √qrḥ, ṣ'q bkh etc. The √npl conveys not the impression of "fallen in battle" but rather the

mythologically-colored notion "cast down." The displacement of the war-setting explains furthermore the absence of so typical an O.A.N. lament-term as √šdd; its replacement by the non-realistic mythological background accounts for the constant employment of "underworld" terminology and motifs, the latter entirely unattested in the O.A.N.

The conclusion accordingly suggests itself that insofar as they are related to the parent tradition, the lament features in the O.A.F.R. are highly stylized, external rather than organic. The unrelated lament features on the other hand -- e.g. šĕ'ôl -- accurately reflect the mythical character of the O.A.F.R. type.

In the case of the non-lament taunt features, one is likewise struck by both differences and similarities. The device of direct quotation is traceable to proto-O.A.N. sources; in the O.A.N. however, its employment is in fact quite rare (e.g. Jer. 48:2). Indeed, a number of employments in the O.A.N. proper convey an impression of "cross-influence" i.e. O.A.F.R. influence on an O.A.N. prophecy.[31] In the O.A.F.R., on the other hand, the direct quotation is ubiquitous: it characterizes most of the O.A.F.R. within the O.A.N. compilations, as well as such O.A.F.R.-related material as Is. 37 and Is. 10:7-14.

Other O.A.N. taunt-features - e.g. the √śḥq, mšl - do not appear in the O.A.F.R. The one appearance of mšl in the O.A.F.R.

(Is. 14:4) belongs to the editorial introduction and more likely as not refers to the allegorical features of 14:12ff, i.e. mšl in its late wisdom-usage as "parable."

One is therefore tempted to assume for the O.A.F.R. a deliberate archaizing tendency in terms of this stylistic device, a device which admirably suits the didactic purposes which this composition-type avows.

(D) Myth

In its elaborate use of mythologically-colored allegory the O.A.F.R. truly distinguishes itself from the parent tradition. The O.A.N., it has been continually observed, is an essentially secular and realistic tradition, consistent -- to the point of monotony -- in its largely stereotyped description of death, destruction, and related effects of war, drawing largely on ancient Israelite war-literature and otherwise seemingly oblivious to the richly variegated cultural traditions both domestic and foreign.

The contrast that this represents with the O.A.F.R. cannot be too strongly emphasized. A vividness of language and imagery; a feel for the dramatic and the ironic; a variety of motifs culled from diverse

traditions and skillfully blended in character portrayal; all this and more can be said of these poems and their authors. Nowhere are these qualities more strikingly present than in the allegorical portions. Detailed discussion may be postponed for the moment, since each poses a number of unique problems and is therefore best analyzed individually. It is worth noting, however, that not only does the O. A. F. R. owe nothing in this respect to the parent O. A. N tradition, but some of the most vivid O. A. N. passages actually reveal O. A. F. R. influence.

Jer. 50:23 איך נגדע וישבר פטיש כל הארץ
איך היתה לשמה בבל בגוים

This passage recalls the opening of the Hēlēl ben Šaḥar allegory.

Is. 14:12 איך נפלת משמים הילל בן שחר
נגדעת לארץ חולש על גוים

The points of literary contact are the lament-term איך , the √gdʿ , בגוים/על גוים. Nor is the direction of influence much in doubt: the metaphor of "the hammer" is apt for an individual - or a nation individualized - and recalls the image of the Babylonian king as "lumberjack" (כרת) in Is. 14:8. Furthermore, the combination

√gdʿ - √šbr in Jer. suggests the mythological overtones of √npl in Isaiah 14:12.

The same is likely the case with the following:

(i) Jer. 46:8

מי זה כיאר יעלה
כנהרות יתגעשו מימיו
ויאמר אעלה אכסה ארץ

(ii) Zeph. 2:15

זאת העיר העליזה היושבת לבטח
האמרה בלבבה אני ואפסי עוד

With the Jer. passage one may compare Ezechiel's description of the Pharoah (e.g. 29:3, 32:2). Note the quotation form and the hubris-motif expressed as the personification of the Nile, both -- "quotation" and "personification" -- characteristic of the O.A.F.R. rather than the collective orientation of the O.A.N.

The impression of O.A.F.R. influence in Zech. 2:15, garnered from the direct-quotation form and its hubris-content, receives additional support from Isa. 47:10:

ועתה שמעו זאת העדינה היושבת לבטח
האמרה בלבבה אני ואפסי עוד

Since, as we shall argue below, the O. A. F. R. is an essentially exilic phenomenon, the appearance of the Zeph. passage -- including the preceding היושבת לבטח -- in Deutero-Isaiah suggests that Zeph. 2:15 -- at least its second part -- is a redactorial harmonization.[32]

Finally mention should be made in this connection of Ez. 26:15-21[33] and especially chap. 27. Here we have oracles addressed to foreign nations but modelled on the O. A. F. R. type .

vs. 15 (= Ez. 31:16) מקול מפלתך

vs. 17 (= Ez. 32:2) ונשאו עליך קינה

Note also the references to the "underworld" in vs. 20.

In chap. 27, we find the qînāh opening (vs. 2) followed by the direct quotation and allegory (vs. 3f), with language highly reminiscent of Ez. 28.[34] Influence of the parent O. A. N. tradition does, however, make itself felt in the mourning-ritual descriptions in vss. 30-32.

III. The O.A.F.R. "type"

The oracles against the rulers are found exclusively in Isaiah and Ezechiel. This is true for those within the foreign-oracles compilations as well as those outside. Within the compilations are:

(a) Isa. 14; 4-11, 12-20;

(b) Ez. 28: 2-10, 12-20; 29:2-12; 31:2-14, 15-18; 32:2-15

Outside the O.A.N. collections, we must consider Is. 37:24-25 and 10:7-11, 13-15 as related literary material. This study will concern itself primarily with the material contained within the collections.

From a form-critical standpoint, we can divide this material into three categories:

(A) The fully-elaborated type

(B) The "incomplete" type

(C) The "mixed" type

Examples of category (A) are: Isa. 14:12-20, Ez. 28:12-20, 31:2-15. To category (B) belong: Isa. 14:4-11; Ez. 28:2-10; 31:15-18, 32:2-15. The "mixed" type - (C) - is represented by Ez. 29:2-12.[35] Insofar as they deviate from type (A), types (B) and (C) do so in the direction of the mainstream O.A.N. tradition.

In its most fully elaborated form, the O.A.F.R. comprise the following elements:

(a) A direct address to the ruler, frequently in the stylized lament form:

Isa.	14:4	איך שבת נגש [36] שבתה מדהבה
	14:12	איך נפלת ...
Ez.	28:12	(שא קינה...) אתה חותם[37] תכנית
	32:2	(שא קינה...) כפיר גוים נדמית ואתה כתנים...

Cp. also Ez. 28:2, 31:2; Isa. 37:22.

(b) A myth-like allegory describing the "state of grace" -- actual or aspired -- and the inevitable "fall" frequently introduced as a direct quotation: e.g. Isa. 14:12-15; Ez. 28:13-16; 31:3-13. The character of these allegories will be discussed elsewhere.[38]

(c) The Begründung: this element is generally introduced by the standard prophetic "motivation" openings: y'n, kî, etc.

Ez.	28:2	יען גבה לבך ותאמר אל אני
	31:10	יען אשר גבהת בקומה
	32:2	כפיר גוים נדמית[39]

In the context of the allegory, the charge is that of "hubris", expressed via such general terms as גבה לב , גבה קומה , √dmm, etc.,[40] but frequently elaborated through a variety of literary motifs appropriate to the cultural traditions, geographical landscape, and political status of the subject addressed. Thus, in the Phoenician oracles (Ez. 28) terms like √ḫkm and √rkl are of high frequency; in the Egyptian oracles (Ez. 29, 32) the imagery of the Nile is much to the fore.

In the non-allegorical -- or nimšal -- portion, the charge is still more closely connected with historical reality. Here the war-orientation of the parent tradition makes itself felt.

Isa.	14:6	מכה עמים בעברה ... רדה באף גוים
	14:17	שם תבל כמדבר ועריו הרס
Ez.	29:6	יען היותם משענת קנה לבית ישראל

(d) The "punishment" (Gerichtsankündigung) element is similarly expressed both as mašal and nimšal. In its allegorical expression -- it involves the "fall" or "being cast down", be it from the previous idyllic state or consequent to an act of overweening ambition to attain such a state. In this context the fate of the ruler is a personal one, independent of his nation's. It usually involves the ruler being cast into the recesses of the netherworld.

Isa.	14:9	שאול מתחת רגזה לך לקראת בואך
	14:15	אך אל שאול תורד אל ירכתי בור
Ez.	28:8	לשחת יורידוך...
	31:16	בהורידי אותו שאלה את ירכתי בור

Cp. also Ez. 32:21ff.

In non-allegorical language, the ruler shares the fate of destruction with his people. Here the motifs are the traditional ones of foreign invasion and destruction by enemy states.

Ez.	28:7	לכן הנני מביא עליך זרים עריצי גוים והריקו חרבותם על יפי חכמתך
	32:10	והשימותי עליך עמים רבים...

(e) The final form-element is the prophetic maxim, expressed alternately via the explicit sermonizing of the prophet and -- more frequently -- the taunting of the victim's peers.

Isa.	14:10	כלם יענו ויאמרו אליך גם אתה חלית כמונו אלינו נמשלת
Isa.	14:16	ראיך אליך ישגיחו אליך יתבוננו...
Ez.	28:9(2)	ואתה אדם ולא אל
Ez.	28:18c	ואתנך... לעיני כל ראיך
Ez.	31:14	למען אשר לא יגבהו בקומתם... כי כלם נתנו למות

These are the five form-elements that make up the O. A. F. R. type in its most elaborate form. The "incomplete" types are made up of two or more elements, the most common omission being the fully developed allegory -- element (b) -- though in none is highly metaphorical language completely unattested.

We now turn our attention to the oracles individually.

IV. The Individual O. A. F. R.

1. Isa. 14:12-20

In its present position within the text, this oracle does not give the appearance of being a separate one. It is clear however, -- both from its content and its form-structure -- that it constitutes a literary composition in its own right. A result of its present textual arrangement has been the loss of the caption signifying the subject addressed, who may or may not be that suggested by 14:4a.[41] But on the basis of the form-structure suggested as typical for the O. A. F. R. type, there can be no doubt that it does belong to this literary genre, while on the basis of internal evidence -- e. g. v. 16[b] -- its subject is easily identified as a ruler of a major world power.

All five of the O. A. F. R. form-elements are attested.

A. v. 12: direct - 2nd person - address, utilizing the lament formulary.

B. vs. 13-15: the allegory, introduced by a direct quotation.

C. v. 17: Begründung, of a political-military character.

D. v. 19: Ankündigung, of a realistic nature.

E. v. 16: the prophetic maxim, expressed as the taunting by the rulers peers.

The historical setting presupposed by this oracle has been the subject of considerable controversy.[42] The problem has been seen to depend on the identification of the king addressed, with scholars divided as to the Assyrian or Babylonian era.[43] Despite the increase in our sources of information, the question cannot be considered answered.[44] On form-critical grounds discussed above, I feel that the evidence weighs on the side of an exilic date.

More progress has been made in clarifying the mythological background of the allegory. The first breakthrough was made by H. Gunkel[45] who saw in the Greek myth of Phaeton an exact parallel, even to the point of etymological derivation of the respective names.[46] According to one version, Phaeton - son of Helius ("Sun")[47] - secretly climbed aboard his father's chariot and made his way across the heavens. While high over the earth, he becomes panic-stricken, and plummets into the Eridanos river, whereupon Zeus strikes him dead with his lightening. The entire world then catches fire and is finally extinguished only after the rivers have been allowed to overflow.[48] The full significance of this latter point was realized only by Gruppe.[49]

Gunkel's interpretation has held sway despite its having preceded the Ras Shamra discoveries.[50] The latter however, could only speculate as to its Babylonian and/or Canaanite origins, for the myth was extant in none of the then available materials.

This situation changed considerably once the Ugaritic texts became known to the world. Such references (vss. 13-14) as ירכתי צפון; הר מועד , and במתי עב were found to have their precise analogues in this literature.[51] Furthermore, in the Birth of the Gracious Gods there appear two figures named Šlm and Šḥr, born to El by human women. Nothing, however, is known of the activities and/or fate of these two deities except that El transports them to heaven where they are placed "beside the Lady Sun and the fixed stars".[52] To this may be added the expression bn šrm which Gaster renders "Princes" in parallelism to the semi-divine pair.[53]

The absence of a parallel Ugaritic myth involving the god Šḥr has led some scholars to posit another identification also on the basis of the Ugaritic texts. The latter know of a deity -- according to Albright,[54] "god of the morning-star" -- named ʿAttar who is involved in an attempt to replace Baal as king of the pantheon after the latter has been slain by Yamm.[55] He carries the appelative ʿrẓ—Heb. ערץ —[56] and after his unsuccessful bid returns to rule bʿarṣ ʾil klh. In another context[57] involving astral deities, this god appears to be the brother of an otherwise unknown female Ybrdmy mentioned as a prospective bride for the Moon (yrḫ) and is designated lbʾu, "lion".[58]

Aside from the thematic affinities with the Hēlēl myth, the proponents of the ʿAttar equation point to the Accadian goddess Ištar, identified in Babylonian astronomy with the planet Venus (^{mul} DIL. BAD) and the evening star. The feminine sex of this goddess -- compared with the male sex of ʿAttar -- has led scholars to conclude that this deity was originally androgynous and conceived of as "female" qua evening star and "male" qua morning star.[59] To this may be added the further notice that the adjective ēllētu -- cognate with Heb. √hll -- is used as a designate of this same Ištar.[60]

The theory is attractive and commends itself in many respects. It also encounters several difficulties.

(a) The theory generally does not come to terms with the existence of the Ug. Šḥr and -- to the extent that it does -- must presume his identity with ʿAttar/Ištar on the basis of the Accadian, for the Ugaritic texts know of no such equation.

(b) The incident of ʿAttar's attempt at rule is less a case of deposing -- a motif presupposed by the O. T. version -- and more a matter of succeeding the former ruler, now presumed dead. The absence of "conflict" is clear from ʿAttar's peaceable withdrawal

of his candidacy once it is established that "his feet do not reach the footstool, nor his head reach (the) top (of the throne)".[61] Since "theomachy"[62] is central to the Hēlēl myth, the ʿAttr hypothesis is thus ruled out as a prototype.

The net result remains accordingly an incomplete understanding of the Hēlēl myth. Extra-biblical materials have clarified many of its aspects but cannot be said -- in the present state of knowledge -- to have entirely solved the problem. It is nonetheless true that the full implications of the biblical and extra-biblical evidence have not as yet been fully extrapolated. The following analysis is offered in the hope that it may prove a stepping-stone to a complete understanding.

It has long been recognized that the Hēlēl myth bears thematic affinity to one or more fragmentarily preserved mythical items in the O. T.[63] The connection with Ps. 82:1, 6-7 and Gen. 6:1-4 was convincingly demonstrated some years ago by J. Morgenstern. Correlating the Biblical evidence with that of the post-biblical[64] and -- to a limited degree -- the pre-biblical periods, the author concluded that Ps. 82:1, 6-7 deals with a myth of fallen angels -- or nefīlīm -- whose crime consisted in fomenting a rebellion against the ruler of the pantheon, El.

The leader of this rebellion, says Morgenstern, was none other than Hēlēl ben Šaḥar, identified by later Jewish tradition with Šatan. The author goes so far as to suggest emending כאחד השרים (vs. 7) to הילל בן שחר .[65]

This emendation however proves unnecessary in the light of the Ugaritic material. The term bn šr(m) -- equivalent to Heb. בני שרים --[66] occurs in close proximity with the birth of Šlm and Šḥr and is interpreted by Gaster -- correctly, in my estimation -- as a parallel designation of these divine offspring.[67]

The connection with Gen. 6 is still more intimate than Morgenstern had observed. In addition to the mythological motif of √npl common to Ps. 82:7[b] and to Gen. 6:4, one can point to the following parallels:

(a) Ps. 82:7a: אכן כאדם תמותון

Gen. 6:3: לא ידון רוחי באדם לעלם[68]

(b) The theme of divine-human intercourse which occurs in Gen. 6:1-4 is directly paralleled by the circumstances of the birth of the Gracious Gods, including Šḥr and Šlm. These creatures turn out to be insatiable in their appetites and commit at least one nefarious act in the course of satisfying themselves.[69]

Though aware of Gunkel's identification of Phaëton with Hēlēl, Morgenstern does not seem to have known of Gruppe's studies.[70] It has generally been the consensus of scholarly opinion that Gen. 6:1-4 is an originally independent mythological fragment, without any organic connection to the following flood-story.[71] Gruppe pointed however to the presence of a flood-motif in the Phaëton myth itself, viz. the overflowing of the rivers to quench the conflagration arising from the death of Phaëton. If we conclude with Astour[72] "that the myth of Phaëton is entirely adopted from W-S (=West Semitic) mythology", then the flood-motif must somehow be part of the Oriental antecedent of this myth, viz. Hēlēl ben Šaḥar. Now this condition is fully satisfied by the present juxtaposition of Gen. 6:1-4 with the Flood-story.

Further evidence for the connection between Isa. 14:12ff -- Gen. 6 -- Ps. 82 emerges from two additional considerations:

(a) the character of the רפאים.

(b) the expression אחד השרים in Ps. 82:7.

The O. T. conveys a two-sided impression of the רפאים. One is that of a race of giants inhabiting the Syro-Palestine area in the patriarchal and early conquest periods.[73] The other is that of

the permanent inhabitants of the netherworld -- Še'ôl -- and, figuratively, dead people as such.[74] To the O. T. evidence must now be added that of the Ugaritic texts, where the רפאים appear as "a band of semi-mythological beings... constituting a kind of fraternity ("Bruderschaft")".[75] One of them is designated rpu bʿl mhr bʿl wmhr ʿnt which Jirku renders: "Rapa'u der Fürst, der Krieger des Baal und der Krieger der ʿAnat."[76] The hero dn'l is also designated mt rp'i. The Ugaritic thus lends support to the first of the two O. T. conceptions.

Particularly instructive is the juxtaposition of the following two passages:

Nu. 13:33 ושם ראינו את הנפילים...
ונהי בעינינו כחגבים

Dt. 3:11 כי רק עוג מלך הבשן נשאר מיתר הרפאים

Both passages refer to the indigenous population encountered by the Israelites in Canaan and Transjordan. It is accordingly not unlikely that the נפילים in Nu. 13:13 are identical with the רפאים of Dt. 3:11. The latter term would refer to their former divine status -- equivalent to the Ug. rp'm -- and the latter to their "fallen" status, in the manner of Gen. 6.

The equation of רפאים - נפילים receives additional support from the second connotation which the latter bears in the O. T., viz. the inhabitants of the netherworld or Še'ôl. In a passage describing Enkidu's trip to the underworld, we read (Gilgameš, VII, iv. 40ff):[77]

> In the House of Dust which I entered
> I looked at (rulers) their crowns put away
> I (saw princes) those (born to) the crown
> Who had ruled the land from days of yore

The reference to those "who had ruled the land from days of yore" suggests the antediluvian Sumerian rulers as well as the concluding phrase in Gen. 6:4: המה הגבורים אשר מעולם אנשי השם.[78] The underworld figures, moreover, in the Hēlēl-myth:

vs. 15 אך אל שאול תורד אל ירכתי בור

while such mythological allegory as appears in the preceding poem (vss. 4-11) (the poem constituting an example of the "incomplete" type) mentions not only שאול but the רפאים as well:

vs. 9 שאול מתחת רגזה לך לקראת בואך
עורר לך רפאים כל עתודי ארץ
הקים מכסאותם כל מלכי גוים

Note the parallel references to royal personages here and in the Gilgameš quotation above.

The רפאים are thus the Še'ôl inhabitants par excellence. This is best explained as the result of a myth which told of the demotion of a group of divine beings and their having been cast into Še'ôl as a result of an act of disobedience.[79]

We turn now to the expression in Ps. 82:7:

כאחד השרים תפלו

The phrase is generally rendered: "and fall like one of the princes". Yet Morgenstern[80] observed that so indefinite a reference seemed misplaced. His emendation has previously been noted, as well as the comment that whatever may be the case for כאחד, the term šrm is doubtless authentic.

The troublesome כאחד finds its solution in a Ugaritic text. In UM 137, lines 24ff we find the divine assembly (pḫr mʿd,[81] lines 15-16, 20) at a royal feast. Enter the messengers of Yamm who demand the surrender of Baal. The gods are stunned into helplessness, at which point (1:24) Baal steps forward:

24 lm ǵltm ʾilm riš(t)km 25 lẓr brktkm
wln kḫt zblkm
ʾaḫd 26 ilm tʿny lḫt mlʾak ym
tʿdt tpt nh(r)

The words ʾaḥd ʾilm tʿny lḫt are rendered by Gordon:[82] "Let a few/ couple of the gods read the tablets: but both "few/couple" and "read" are italicized as uncertain. Aisleitner[83] renders:

> vereint euch Götter
> begegnet der Keckheit (der Boten)...

The indefinitiness of Gordon's interpretation -- much like the traditional rendering of Ps. 82:7 -- militates against its correctness. So too, the term √aḥd denotes "unity" rather than "plurality" in all Semitic languages. Aisleitner's interpretation requires positing a Pi'el form with reflexive force. Not only is the D-form difficult to detect in Ugaritic orthography[84] but the form is otherwise unattested for √aḥd in either Ugaritic or Biblical Hebrew.[85]

A more plausible interpretation is to take aḥd ʾilm as a parallel designation of pḫr ʾilm (mʿd) and to render:

> Ye band of gods: answer the message[86] of Yamm's messengers
> the report of Judge-River.[87]

This interpretation applied to Ps. 82:7 solves the problem of כאחד, an interpretation all the more likely in view of the designation עדת אל in vs. 1. The phrase may be translated:

> Therefore shall ye die as mortals
> and "fall" like the band of Princes.

This "band of Princes" can now be seen as the exact correspondence of bn šrm and the "einer Art Bruderschaft"[88] of the Rephaim, soon to become Nefīlīm.

We propose, accordingly, the following reconstruction of the Hēlēl-myth.

The time-setting is the antediluvian period. Inhabiting the world at this time are the gods (ʿdt, pḫr, bn, ʾilm, etc.)[89] -- headed by El -- residing on Mt. Ṣpn[90] and the antediluvian population. Among the divine assembly are to be found a group known as the (aḥd/bn) šrm and rpʾim, deities sired by gods (specifically: El) but born of human mothers. In their state of grace they reign as astral deities.[91]

Imitating their sires, the bn šrm covet human women.[92] This proves disagreeable to the head of the pantheon. The results are two-fold:

(a) The bn šrm are "cast down"; some to Sheol, others to earth. Among the latter is Šḥr. Henceforth they are known as nefīlīm.

(b) These earth-bound semi-divine beings now mate with mortal women, producing a generation of "heroes" (גבורים).[93] They are a greedy and probably murderous lot,[94] and of great physical stature.[95] Among them must be sought Hēlēl, the son of Šḥr.

It is this group of "heroes" that leads the rebellion against the head of the pantheon, perhaps in an attempt to regain their Paradise-lost.[96] The revolt is crushed -- possibly by means of fire and flood[97] -- with the ringleaders, doubtless including Hēlēl, doomed to share the fate of their disobedient ancestors in Šᵉ'ôl.[98]

Much of the foregoing -- especially concerning the activities of the bn šrm and the gibborîm -- is admittedly conjectural, though in broad outline it does seem to account best for the fragmentary evidence -- biblical as well as extra-biblical -- at our disposal. The final answer must await future discoveries on the order of Ras Shamra.

2. Ez. 28:12-20

With minor variations this oracle evidences a form-structure identical with Isa. 14:12ff. The oracle is declared by its author to be a lament though none of the typical lament features - including the introductory 'ēkh -- are attested. The opening is characteristically 2nd person; in contrast with Isa. 14:12 however, Ezechiel continues the following allegorical description - vss. 13-16 - in the same 2nd

person address, rather than resorting to the direct quotation form.[99] The Begründung element finds its allegorical expression in vs. 17:

גבה לבך ביפיך
שחת חכמתך על יפעתך

and its nimšal-rendering in:

vs. 16a ברב רכלתך מלו תוכך חמס ותחטא

vs. 18a מרב עונך בעול רכלתך

The Begründung motifs of "beauty", "wisdom", and "commerce" evidence the poet's sensitivity to the cultural and historical traditions of his subject. The commercial empire established by the Phoenicians speaks eloquently for their mercantile interests and ingenuity.[100] The beauty of Phoenician art and craftsmanship was proverbial,[101] while recent philological studies have more and more pointed to the north-Canaanite area as a major centre of wisdom literature.[102] The principle of motif-Anpassung is generally characteristic of Ezeckiel's O. A. F. R.

The pronouncement of "punishment" is rendered allegorically via the mythological notion of the "fall":

v. 16^{b} ואחללך מהר אלהים ואבדך... מתוך אבני אש

and non-allegorically -- though the distinction between mašal and nimšal is somewhat blurred -- in:

v. 18^{b-c} - 19a [103] ואוציא אש מתוכך היא אכלתך
ואתנך לאפר על הארץ...
כל יודעיך בעמים שממו עליך

The "maxim", interwoven with the Gerichtsankündigung, is implicit rather than explicit. It is expressed as the taunting witness of the fallen hero's demise by "observers" with whom he is acquainted:

v. 18^{d} ... לעיני כל ראיך

v. 19^{c} ... יודעיך בעמים

Cp. Isa. 14:16 ראיך אליך ישגיחו...

The allegory presents a number of formidable problems both of a literary and textual nature, the latter arising from the poor state of the text's preservation.[104] Thus:

MT v. 12c:	חותֶם תכנית	LXX v. 12c:	ἀποτράγισμα ὁμοιώσεως (חותֶם תבניתֵ)
MT v. 12c:	מלא חכמה	LXX v. 12c:	(omitted)
MT v. 14a:	אַתְּ כרוב ממשח הסוכך	LXX v. 14a:	... μετὰ τοῦ Χερουβ (אֶת כרובֵי)
MT v. 14b:	אלהים הייתָ	LXX v. 14b:	(omitted)

The more certain of the numerous emendations proposed involve חותָם - "signet" -- for חותֶם and אֶת כרוב for אַתְּ כרוב.[105] The enigmatic ממשח -- omitted by the LXX -- suggests itself as "original" if only because of the appropriateness of a √mšḥ in an allegory applied to a royal personage.[106] Assuming a faulty word division in כרוב ממשח, one might restore as follows:

את כרובם משוח הסוכך

"... with the K^{e}rubim, designated (lit. 'anointed') the defender".[107]

The list of "precious stones" in v. 13 poses still another textual problem. By comparing this list with that of Ex. 28:17-20 (=39:10-13) and the LXX to the Ezechiel passage, scholars have frequently concluded that the "original" list in Ezechiel contained twelve such items.[108] This is, however, far from certain.

(a) The list in Ezechiel contains -- albeit in different order -- the first, second and fourth "rows" of Exodus. The number "twelve"

is a priori more important for the Exodus author than it is for Ezechiel, since the former wishes a direct numerical correspondence with the twelve tribes of Israel. The number "twelve" may accordingly be artificial.

(b) The list in LXX to Ez. 28:13 is identical with that of the Exodus passages (exclusive of the αργυριον and χρυσιον). This is true of the nomenclature as well as the sequence of the stones. It is thus not unlikely that the Greek has been harmonized.[109]

(c) The motif of "precious stones" in a garden-setting is quite authentic.[110] There is accordingly no basis for assuming that the motif is borrowed from an external priestly source.

It was Gunkel's conclusion, that Ez. 28:12ff represents "eine älteren Recension des Paradiesesmythus die weit mythologischer ist als die in Gen. 2f. erhaltene";[111] that set the tone for much of subsequent analysis. The enthusiasm generated by Gunkel has received added impetus in the wake of Ugaritic research and especially M. H. Pope's provocative -- and controversial -- interpretation in the light of the new evidence.[112] Pope's was the rather unique attempt to interpret a theme in Ugaritic mythology in the light of the O. T. evidence, viz. the problematic relationship between El and Baal. It

was Pope's contention -- supported by largely circumstantial evidence from Greek and Hittite sources -- as well as the Ug. texts themselves -- that Baal's rise to power was to be explained on the basis of a theomachy spearheaded by the son, Baal, against his father, El, a battle in which the son -- like his Greek and Hittite counterparts Zeus and Teshub respectively -- was victorious and which saw El forced to take up residence in the infernal mbk nhrm - apq thmtm.[113] Since the Ugaritic texts are themselves silent on this matter, Pope was obliged to seek elsewhere for confirmation of his hypothesis. His selection turns out to be Ez. 28.

The brunt of the burden of proof is borne by the initial oracle in vss. 2-11 rather than the oracle presently under consideration. But since (a) Pope joins Morgenstern and Eissfeldt in identifying the myth-type in 28:12ff with that of 28:2-11 and both with Isa. 14:12ff and (b) since his interpretation of 28:12ff stems from similar Ugaritological premises, we cannot entirely avoid the evidence of vss. 2-11 at this point.

Pope presents his thesis as follows: "The Prince of Tyre is represented as arrogating divinity to himself... specifically the head of the pantheon El."[114] This conclusion rests on the direct quotation in 28:2:

יען גבה לבך ותאמר אל אני
מושב אלהים ישבתי בלב ימים

Pope is certain that *ʾēl* is here used as a proper name rather than as an appelative.[115] The residence "in the heart of the seas" is interpreted by him -- and earlier, by Cassuto[116] -- as a reference to El's abode *mbk nhrm apq thmtm*, with the possibility acknowledged that the reference is as well "to the insular position of Tyre", paralleled as it is in Egyptian and Assyrian sources.[117]

To establish the biblical author's familiarity with Ugaritic - Canaanite - Phoenecian mythology, Pope points to דנאל — pointed without the "*yôd*" — in vs. 3, while "the emphasis on Divine wisdom ... further suggests connection with El who was noted for his wisdom."

Additional evidence is cited from the oracle under consideration, 28:12ff, *viz.* the references to *ʾabnē ʾēš* in vss. 14, 16. Writes Pope:[118]

> In spite of the obscurity of the meaning... it is clear that it refers to the splendiferous surroundings in which the god lived... The term *abnē ēš* is virtually certified as authentic by the Akkadian *aban išati*, but... the Akkadian is also obscure... The saga of Baal's bizarre house raising (IIAB iv-v 75-81)... affords a plausible... explanation of the enigmatic *abnē ēš*... this prodigy of metallurgy ... apparently referred to as *abn brq*... could quite appropriately have been termed *abn išt*.

The author is quick to anticipate the immediate objection to this interpretation:[119]

> The fact that the Ugaritic myth deals with Baal's house while the allegory of Ez. 28 concerns the general abode of the gods is no real impediment... The O. T. author may have transferred Baal's celebrated palace to El, or it may well be that in the ancient tradition El also had such a splendiferous house.

The reaction was not long in coming. The same year in which Pope's work appeared, Führer commented categorically in his commentary:[120] "Der Mythus (in Ez. 28:2f) hat... nicht von der Niederlage und Sturz des Gottes El erzählt..."

The most forceful rejoinder however, would have to await a publication in the following year by J. L. McKenzie.[121] Against Popes identification of the abnē eš with the abn brq, McKenzie pointedly observes that not only is there no evidence of a palace -- be it Baal's or El's -- in Ez. 28, but the setting in the garden situated on the הר אלהים rules out -- on Popes own premises -- 28:12ff in any way connected with an El - myth.[122]

In addition to seriously challenging Pope's hypothesis, McKenzie convincingly argues against the attempt to identify the allegory of Ez. 28:12ff with that of Isa. 14:12ff, an identification advocated e. g. by Morgenstern, Eissfeldt, and Führer:

> ... it is decisive that Hēlēl ben Šaḥar unsuccessfully attempts to scale the heights of heaven, while the hero of Ezechiel, established in Eden by Yahweh, is expelled for his sin... (these) cannot be the same story, even if the holy mountain appears in both... Mythological patterns are more precise than this.[123]

The line of approach originally suggested by Gunkel -- to see Ez. 28:12ff as a variant of the Gen. 2-3 paradise-story --has challenged investigators to attempt to reconstruct and clarify thefeatures of the variant. The basic research in this area has been carried on by the Scandanavian scholars Bentzen,[124] Engnell[125] and Widengren,[126] exponents of the Myth-Ritual school, and recently summarized and evaluated by H. G. May.[127]

The basic thesis is that we are here concerned with a story of a "royal Adam", a version of the Paradise-myth elsewhere discernible in Ps. 8; Pr. 8:22f and Job 15:7, 8; 38:4-7, and underlying the "Son of Man" concept as expressed in Dan. 7 and in post-Biblical apocalypse.[128] Extra-biblical parallels adduced to support this hypothesis are generally Mesopotamian rather than Canaanite.[129]

But it is Ez. 28:12ff that furnishes the primary O. T. support for this hypothesis. Aside from the a priori consideration that the subject addressed is a royal personage, the proponents point to:

(a) hôtām in v. 12c, comparing this with Jer. 22:24, Hag. 2:23;

(b) the "precious stones" which are interpreted as priestly pectoral, reflecting the ancient Near Eastern image of a priest-king.[130]

(c) The cherub-motif and its connection with enthronement.[131]

(d) The motif of "wisdom" as "a natural kingly virtue."[132]

Though the hypothesis of a "royal Adam" accounts more or less satisfactorily for the character of the variant tradition preserved in our oracle and elsewhere, it remains yet to be explained where this version may have originated and the development which gave rise to the variant traditions. The question of "origin" is much debated: whereas Eissfeldt and Pope connect the הר אלהים in vs. 16 with Mt. Ṣpn -- identical with classical Mons Casius -- of Ugaritic mythology, Widengren, McKenzie and Führer find varying degrees of Mesopotamian colouring.

The matter is frequently discussed however without attention being paid to perhaps the most decisive O. T. evidence bearing on the question, viz. Ez. 31:3ff:[133]

v. 3 [134] הנה אשור ארז בלבנון
יפה נוף וחרש מצל

v. 4 מים גדלוהו תהום רוממתהו
את נהרתיה הלך סביבות מטעה

v. 8 ארזים לא עממהו בגן אלהים...

v. 9 ויקנאהו כל עצי עדן

It is immediately evident that we are here confronted by a fragment of a "paradise" story, with literary connections both with Genesis and Ez. 28. The designation gan ʾelohîm recalls 28:16, while references to ʿeden (v. 9), t^{e}hôm, and especially the "surrounding rivers" (v. 4) -- cp. Gen. 2:10ff -- recall the Genesis account.

Yet the equation of ʿeden with gān ʾelohîm in vs. 9 suggests that one geographical setting is involved, a consideration making a dual-version hypothesis initially suspect. Nor is there much doubt but that the location of "Eden" is to be sought in the area of Mesopotamia rather than north-Canaan.[135]

Now the tradition of a "garden of Paradise" is attested in Mesopotamian sources. In Gilgameš IX, v. 47-51 we read:[136]

> On seeing the grove of stones (?)[137] he heads for...
> The carnelian bears its fruit
> It is hung with vines good to look at
> The lapis bears foliage (?)
> It, too, bears fruit lush to behold

The reference to precious stones - especially the lapis lazuli -- recalls the list in Ez. 28:13 where inter alia we find the šoham, identical with the lapis. The fruit-bearing trees recall on the other hand the Genesis version.[138] More striking still is the evidence brought by Widengren[139] that the "tree of life" in Mesopotamian tradition -- the kiškanu -- appears as "lapis lazuli erected on the Apsu", with which he properly compares Ez. 31:4a.[140] Again the question must arise whether we are dealing essentially with one basic version of the Paradise myth.

It is nonetheless true that the seemingly crucial reference to הר אלהים in 28:16 points away from the Genesis - Eden version and from Mesopotamia to the north-Canaanite area if בלבנון in Ez. 31:3 - cf. also v. 16 - is explained otherwise than as an explanatory gloss.[141] Before attempting to resolve the problem for the O. T. evidence, it is worth noting that the problem exists in the Ugaritic material as well.

To El's residence mbk nhrm / apq thmtm we have previously alluded. But this is only half the picture. In UM ʿnt:IX:III, 22, we find:

ʾil dpʾid tk ḫršn

ygly d/šd (š$_2$d) ʾil

Pope comments that hršn is "essentially the same mythological concept as Akk. huršan, an infernal cosmic mountain adjacent to the sources of the subterranean cosmic waters."[142] In addition to being cognate, Akk. huršanu is attested in synonymous parallelism with šad-du -- both meaning "mountain"[143] -- just as śd(š$_2$d)[144] is parallel to hršn in the Ugaritic passage above. It is not however, self-evident that the hršn of El is, as Pope suggests, identical with mbk nhrm as evidence for the demotion of El. Rather, we shall argue, both terms are of Mesopotamian origin which, incorporated into Canaanite tradition, produce a tension not dissimilar to that encountered in the O. T. paradise stories.

The term nhrm is generally interpreted as a dual form, in which case it would be parallel to Heb. נהרים . This term in the O. T. -- as well as its equivalent in Egyptian sources[145] -- invariably refers to Mesopotamia, the land-of-the-two-rivers. It is furthermore the case that scholars are inclined to identify the Mesopotamian "garden of paradise" with Eridu, situated at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers as they flow in the Persian Gulf.[146] It is in this region also that the Eden of Gen. 2-3 is most plausibly located.[147]

The Ugaritic material dealing with El's residence is less substantial than that of the O. T. pertaining to the paradise-story. Still the theory that we shall presently offer concerning the origin

and development of the paradise-story may perhaps be seen as applicable to the Ugaritic evidence as well.

The paradise-story it is submitted, is essentially one,[148] originating in Mesopotamia and specifically, southern Mesopotamia. To this Mesopotamian tradition belong the episode in Gen. 2-3, the "precious stones" of Ez. 28[149] and the descriptive motifs of Ez. 31:3^{b}-4.

On the other hand, the portrait of the "royal hero" in Ez. 28 and the references to הר אלהים (28:16) and "Lebanon" (31:3) reflect a Phoenician.-- or Canaanite -- recension, a recension which identified the Eden of Mesopotamia with Mt. Ṣpn. That the "hero" of Paradise became a royal figure[150]-- or at least one endowed with great wisdom -- in Phoenician hands is suggested by the strong stylistic resemblances between Ez. 28 and Pr. 8-9, the latter almost certainly of Canaanite -- Pheonician origin.[151]

A similar explanation may apply to the description of El's residence in the Ugaritic texts. The expression mbk nhrm -- apq thmtm speaks for an originally Mesopotamian abode in the vicinity of Eridu. Transferred to a Canaanite setting, the topological designation is retained -- just as Eden is preserved in Ez. 31:9 -- along with the less specific hršn/š(šd) 'il. But the fact that hršn is apparently an Accadian -- and ultimately Sumerian -- loanword further strengthens the hypothesis of a Mesopotamian origin.[151a]

The problem of El's residence and his independence of Mt. Ṣpn is thus seen as a problem of traditionsgeschichte rather than of mythology. But though our interpretation rules out this residence as evidence for a Baal-El theomachy, the latter per se is not ruled out and is in fact not an implausible suggestion for the method chosen by the tradents of the tradition to resolve the tension resulting from the tradition-synthesis.

We now turn our attention to the Egypt-centered O. A. F. R.

3. The "Egyptian" O. A. F. R.:

A. Ez. 31

Ez. 31 contains two -- and possibly three -- O. A. F. R. compositions: vss. 2-14 and vss. 15-18, with the latter perhaps to be divided additionally into vss. 15-17; vs. 18. Since the mythological background of the allegorical motifs has previously been discussed, we may content ourselves at this point with a form-structural analysis.

The oracle comprised by vss. 2-14 is essentially identical in form-structure with Isa. 14:12ff and especially Ez. 28:12ff. The oracle opens as a direct 2nd person address to the Egyptian ruler with explicit reference to the hubris-motif: אל מי דמית בגדלך. The allegorical continuation is the longest of any of the O. A. F. R. compositions. It is furthermore significant that the ruler is not the direct subject of the allegory: there is no direct-quotation introduction in the manner of Isa. 14:12 nor even the 2nd person narration style of Ez. 28:12ff. The allegory is thus a veritable mašal in the manner e.g. of Ju. 9:8ff, and explains why "the imagery seems strangely incongruous" and that "nothing could be less suggestive of Egypt than the trees and scenery of Lebanon".[152] It is therefore not unlikely that this mašal represents an originally independent composition directed against a ruler other than Pharoah.

A further peculiarity of this oracle is the virtual absence of any "realistic" -- or nimšal -- motifs, with the exception of the references to gôyyîm in vss. 11, 12. Both the Begründung and Gerichtsankündigung -- elements III, IV -- find allegorical expression only.

v. 10 יען אשר גבהה בקומה

153

ויתן צמרתו אל בין עבותם

v. 11 ברשעו גרשתיהו ...

In addition to the obvious parallel with 28:17 -- גבה לבב -- we may note the parallel to Gen. 3:24 (also: 4:14) suggested by v. 11. The √grš, we may be certain, originates in the Eden paradise-saga.

Of particular interest in the characterization of G-A is v. 13: על מפלתו ישכנו כל עוף השמים, with its suggestion of the mythological "fall" observed in Isa. 14:12 and elsewhere.

In v. 14 we find the prophetic maxim, here more fully and explicitly elaborated than anywhere else in the O. A. F. R.

The absence of "realistic" motifs and the explicit sermonizing constitute the decisive evidence in this oracle for the literary and ideological gap separating it from the parent O. A. N. tradition. With this may be adduced the significant change in the term mšl, employed

in the O. A. N. with its taunt-connotation, here implicit and denoting "parable". In the allegories of Isa. 14:12ff -- and Ez. 29:3 -- the taunting aspect is still discernible in the direct-quotation form; here -- and to a lesser extent in Ez. 28:12ff -- the "taunt" has been superseded by the wisdom-techniques of "parable" and "sermon".

The oracle beginning with vs. 15 adds no new motifs to those found in the preceding. Taken together, vss. 15-18 evidence most of the typical form-elements, but in abbreviated and inverted form. It seems more likely however that vs. 18 is an independent and condensed version, intended to summarize the lengthly composition that has preceded.

Form-structurally, vss. 15-16 correspond to element II -- the allegory -- though the description of the state of grace is omitted. Vs. 17 describes the fate of <u>šᵉ ôl</u> that awaits the subject, corresponding to element IV or the <u>Gerichtsankündigung</u> in its mythical formulation. Vs. 18, on the other hand, presents the direct address, otherwise attested as the opening of the O. A. F. R. type, with the second and third strophes corresponding to vss. 16^b-17, <u>i. e.</u> the "fall" (<u>√yrd</u>) into the netherworld. The "maxim" is not explicitly formulated but is rather implicit in the repeated statement that the subject is destined to join the other "trees of Eden" (vss. 16^b, 18^b).

B. Ez. 29:2-12, 32:2-15

This O. A. F. R. material is of interest from form-structural as well as comparative mythological standpoints. Form-critically considered, these oracles are "deviationist", though in a manner which is predictable in terms of the O. A. F. R. development. The specific motifs which make up this material are -- unlike those in Ez. 31 -- vivid reflections of the Egyptian setting and expressive of Egyptian cultural tradition.

Ez. 32:2-15 falls easily into two parts: vss. 2-10 and vss. 11-15. The former is an "abbreviated" or "incomplete" O. A. F. R., the latter essentially O. A. N. The connection between the two is, however, expertly fashioned, suggesting that both parts form one complete composition.

In vs. 2 we are told that the following is a lament, yet, as in the case of 28:12, there is no formal evidence of this genre. Then follows the typical address form:

> You did imagine yourself a lion among nations
> Whereas (in fact) you are a tannîn[154] in the seas
> Snorting through your nostrils[155]
> Muddying the water[156] with your feet
> Stirring up the river(s).[157]

At this point we expect an allegorical continuation describing the fate of this tannîn; yet such is not the case. The style reverts to the standard-prophetic Gerichtsankündigung couched to be sure in metaphorical language appropriate to the introduction. We intend to demonstrate, however, that underlying the metaphors is in fact a myth describing the fate of the originally-mythological tannîn.

The GA in vss. 9-10 shifts to the political-military setting of the classical O. A. N. Now we find reference to "nations" and "peoples" about to "break" (šbr)[158] the pride-filled ruler. Still, a trace of the allegorical is preserved at the conclusion of vs. 10: ביום מפלתך.

The "realistic" political description of vss. 9-10 opens the way in vss. 11ff for a typical O. A. N. against Egypt. The connection is skillfully made in vs. 11 and vs. 12:

vs. 11	חרב מלך בבל תבואך
vs. 12	בחרבות... אפיל המונך

Note well the continuing 2nd person suffixes. This feature disappears however as the oracle more and more develops as an O. A. N. Thus, already in vs. 12 it is "the pride of Egypt" and "her throng". Henceforth, all the suffixes are 3rd person feminine. In vs. 13 appears the

characteristic O. A. N. term √'abd; in vs. 15, the land of Egypt is destined to be שממה ונשמה with which we can compare the stereotyped O. A. N. formula שממה - אין יושב : e. g. Zeph. 2:5, 3:6; Jer. 48:9.

Yet the O. A. N. itself is not without its moralistic and theological features at this stage, which fact accounts for the concluding Erkenntnis- formula, typical for Ezeckiel: וידעו כי אני ד'.

In sum, Ez. 32:2-15 is a "composite" -- but not a "mixture" -- of an O. A. F. R. and an O. A. N. The O. A. F. R. portion is contained in an "incomplete" form in 2-10: in addition to the absence of the "maxim", the allegorical portion is abbreviated and transmuted into the Drohung style of classical prophecy. The O. A. N. links up with the O. A. F. R. in vss. 11-12 and continues its own independent -- and non-allegorical -- course to the end of verse 15.[159]

Since the allegorical motifs are common to Ez. 29, we propose to discuss first the form-characteristics of the latter.

C. Ez. 29:2-12

The most interesting form-critical feature of this oracle is that it represents a "mixed type", with typical O. A. F. R. and O. A. N. intermingled. The introduction in vs. 2 so much as suggests that this is the case:

שים פניך על פרעה מלך מצרים... ועל מצרים כלה

The opening in vs. 3 begins with הנני עליך. Elsewhere we attempted to demonstrate that this expression is a reflex of the maśśaʾ - stereotype found (e. g.) in Isaiah's O. A. N.[160] The expression is found in Nah. 2:12 (3:5) and in Jer. 50:31; in Ez.'s O. A. N., it introduces oracles against Tyre (26:3) Sidon (28:22) and Edom (35:3). In Ez. 30:22 we again find הנני אל פרעה but the oracle is O. A. N. rather than O. A. F. R., the destruction of Pharoah constituting one of many destruction-motifs.

The Pharoah is addressed in the manner of 32:2 as "the great Tannîm/n lying in the Nile". There follows the direct-quotation form, seen e. g. in Isa. 14:12 and Ez. 28:2, expressing the hubris-motif:

" אשר אמר לי יארי ואני עשיתני [161]

Remarks Gaster: "according to Egyptian ideas, the Pharoah caused the annual inundation of the Nile".[161a]

The allegorical account that normally follows this quotation opening is missing and the poem continues in vss. 4-5 in a fashion similar to Ez. 32:3ff, i. e. a prophetic GA couched in appropriate metaphorical language. Here too one suspects an underlying mythical-allegorical substratum.

In verse six comes the sudden shift via the Erkenntis-formulary. The subject is now Egypt -- i. e. O. A. N. -- and, not unexpectedly, the Begründung motif which follows is typically O. A. N.: political - military and anti-Israel action. A similar charge is found directed against Egypt in Isa. 36:3 (=2K. 18:21).

With considerable dexterity the poet fastens on the metaphor of the reed to re-introduce the "king" as subject. Note the 2nd person suffixes in verse 7. Yet verse 8 sees the return of the nation as subject and couched in typical O. A. N. language: √ḥrb, krt, and šmm. Finally, in vs. 10 the two subjects are combined: הנני אליך ואל יאריך though the language is still that of the preceding allegory. The poem concludes, in the manner of Ez. 32, as a typical O. A. N.

The mythical features of the allegories in Ez. 29, 32 -- and especially that of Tannîn and the related Rahab -- were understood by Gunkel as a distant echo of an original Chaos myth, "mit ägyptischen Motiven vermischt".[162]

Eissfeldt, writing in the early wake of the Ugaritic discoveries and the evidence of ltn btn brḥ,[163] interpreted the consistent use of tannîn and Rahab with Egypt and, specifically, the allusions in the oracles under discussion as a basis for "die Vermutung dass der "Typhon" - Mythus auch zu Agypten Beziehungen gehabt haben muss..."[164]

Gaster describes the myth-type as follows:[165]

> The fight of god and dragon - a counterpart of that enacted in ritual in order to bring in the new lease of life - is a constant theme of seasonal myths throughout the world.

Gaster lists examples from various ancient cultures -- Sumerian, Accadian, Indian, Greek, Hittite, Iranian, Egyptian, Phoenician, -- with the O. T. evidence furnished by the scattered allusions to Rahab, Leviathan, Tannîn and Naḥaš. The Egyptian material specifically cited by Gaster includes the Horus-myth of Edfu.[166]

Working on the assumption of a common mythological pattern and armed with the information that Ez. 29, 32 excel in their Anpassung of motifs, we have undertaken a comparison of the aforesaid Horus-myth with the Ezechiel material.

The main theme of the Horus-myth is the battle between Horus of Behdet, king of Lower Egypt, and Seth, master of Upper Egypt. In one scene of this myth-drama we read:[167]

> And Horus of Behdet assumed the form of a lion
> with the face of a man... he hastened after (his
> enemies)... He slew them with his claws, he
> dragged forth their kidneys, their blood lay on
> the heights, and he made a meal out of them
> for his followers, while he was on the mountains.

With this we suggest comparing Ez. 32:2, 4b-6:

> You did imagine yourself a lion among nations...
> I will sate with you all the beasts of the land
> I will lay thy flesh on the mountains
> And fill the valley with thy rot[168]
> I will irrigate the land (so that) it flows with
> your blood.

Though the parallels are substantial, most of the motifs involved are too general to be decisive. The imagery of the lion, however, is significant: "Horus is known to have been worshipped as a lion-god at Sile (T; rw) a frontier town of strategical importance."[169] At least one scholar[170] had identified T; rw with Tanis, O. T. Ṣô'an.

In another scene, we find the actual confrontation of Horus and Seth, the latter disguised as a crocodile. Rendered into Hebrew, this reptile could be designated Tannîn.[171]

I (Horus) have cast (my harpoon) at the
Lower Egyptian Bull and sore-wounded
Terrible Face, ploughing up the water
with my...[172]

Cp. Ez. 32:2

...You are a tannîn in the seas...
Muddying the water with your feet

The use of weaponry employed by Horus provides still another parallel:

Thrust home the harpoon, spread wide the rope...
The cry of the hippopotamus fallen in thy rope.[173]

Cp. Ez. 32:3: I shall spread over you my net...
and hoist you in my drag.

The parallels adduced impress more in their totality than individually. Let it be noted that there is hardly a phrase in Ez. 32:2^{b}-6 which does not find a correspondence in this one series of Egyptian texts.

But if this were the total picture, we should be able to conclude little more than that the author of this poem had a fine sensitivity to "local color".

There is however an additional aspect to the comparison, an aspect which suggests that the aforementioned conclusion may be too conservative. For the myth-drama as a whole is summarized by the editors Blackman and Fairman as follows:[174]

> ... it is quite evident that one of the chief reasons for the performance of the play... was to make the (king) who was himself Horus victorious over his foes, secure him a prosperous reign, and obtain for him the same 'triumph' as was won by his divine prototype... The king is thus... the Alpha and Omega of the whole performance. Accordingly our dramatic text may in certain respects be compared with the Achtungstexte (=Execration texts) for the play, whether actually staged or produced only in the form of inscriptions and reliefs on a temple wall, served much the same purpose as the ceremonies performed with the 'red vases' and the clay figures of captives covered with written threats and denunciations that purpose being the overthrow and destruction of Pharoah's enemies.

Now the significance of this statement, if correct, for our purpose can hardly be exaggerated. Let it be first recalled that Bentzen - and after him, Führer - had concluded independent of the present evidence that the O. A. N. bear some relationship, ideological as well as literary, to the Egyptian execration texts.[175] In no case however were the

literary parallels as close as those presented here; the "execration hypothesis" commended itself largely on the practical use to which the O. A. N. material may have been put.[176]

The relationship of Ez. 32 to the Egyptian material presented is literarily as well as functionally intimate. If the king is functionally the "Alpha and Omega" of this myth-drama, the same is true of the O. A. F. R. The O. A. F. R. thus stands in the identical relation to the O. A. N. as does this royal execration text to the "red vases" and "clay figures".

We should not be inclined to regard the O. A. F. R. as a direct product of Egyptian royal Execration texts. We would suggest, however, that once that O. A. F. R. type had developed -- and the reasons for its development are not at all clear -- the author of an O. A. F. R. composition directed against an Egyptian figure, given access to a royal Execration text, may well have found such material fruitful and suggestive.

4. Isa. 14:4-11; Ez. 28:2-10

These two O. A. F. R. oracles share in common the absence of fully-elaborated allegory -- a feature characterizing Ez. 29 and 32 as well -- and as such merit the designation "incomplete". There is however no doubt that they are related to the O. A. F. R.

The Isaiah-oracle opens with the characteristic lament-term, ʾēkh; the lament-influence extends further to the 3:2 metre of most of the strophes and possibly to the šeʾôl description in vss. 9-11 so that we confront a genuine mock-lament, not merely a stylization.[177] The anticipated allegorical continuation fails to materialize. The poem depicts the political tyranny of the sovereign and the universal sigh of relief that greets his demise. Verse six contains the Begründung:

מכה עמים בעברה מכת בלתי סרה

i. e. the charge of "imperialistic" conquest which enters the O. A. N. tradition under the impact of Assyrian imperial conquest. Thus far, the setting is "realistic".

The language of allegory begins to make itself felt in vs. 8: the metaphor "cedars of Lebanon" recalls particularly Ez. 31:3ff. The imagery of šeʾôl may ultimately reflect the lament-form; in

this poem however it reflects more directly the mythical-allegorical motif of the O. A. F. R. type, characterizing all of the O. A. F. R. compositions.

The problem of the רפאים (v. 9^b) has been previously discussed.

The descent of the hero brings the "kings of the nations" -- already dead -- to their feet.[178] This sets the stage for the taunting quotation (vs. 10) intended at the same time to be expressive of the prophetic maxim: גם אתה חלית כמונו אלינו נמשלת[179]

The conclusion in v. 11^b bears ironically eloquent testimony to the royal-personality who forms the subject of the oracle:

תחתיך יצע רמה ומכסיך תולעה

The √yṣʿ and √ksh/y are to be understood as referring to the royal bed-chamber,[180] now replaced by decay and worms.

The mythological allusions in Ez. 28:2-10 have been briefly discussed in a previous context. It will be recalled that Pope and Cassuto consider the mention of ʾēl in v. 2 as referring to the Canaanite deity El, with Pope finding evidence in the continuation for the watery abode of El mbk nhrm, a result of his deposition by Baal.

The reference to דנאל has similarly been interpreted in the light of the Ugaritic material as a reference to the Ugaritic hero dn'l mt rp'im. The Phoenician context is taken by Noth[181] as evidence that Dan'el was considered in Israel a Canaanite "Uberlieferungsgestalt". A lone dissenting voice is that of May who considers the reference a late gloss to the Jewish Daniel.[182]

From a form-critical standpoint, the oracle represents an "incomplete" O. A. F. R. The oracle opens as a 2nd person address, followed by the direct quotation, wherein the hero's pretensions to divinity find expression. The subsequent description -- vss. 3-5 -- falls short of full allegory though comprising motifs -- esp. wisdom -- which may go back to a mythological original. The choice of motifs -- as in 28:12ff -- is expertly made with an eye to the personality addressed: nothing of the temper of war is here in evidence. The picture is of a commerce-minded individual amassing silver and gold as a result of his shrewdness and power of acumen. The oracle is thus another example of the motif-Anpassung in most of the O. A. F. R.

The Begründung - anticipated in v. 2 - follows next in vs. 6 in language reminiscent of Ez. 31:10: יען תתך את לבבך כלב אלהים. Despite the parallels however with other O. A. F. R. pronouncements, this is in fact the sole instance where pretention to divinity is explicitly stated.

The G-A opens in vs. 7 and includes the typical descent to the underworld (vs. 8) as well as the O. A. N. — derived war destruction. The language is generally reminiscent of Ez. 31:12, 17-18: cp. e. g. √ḥll; שאל-שחת ; עריצי גוים.

The final form-element -- the prophetic maxim -- appears in vs. 9: האמר תאמר אלהים אני לפני הרגך
ואתה אדם ולא אל

V. Conclusions

The main conclusions drawn thus far fall into two categories: formgeschichtliche and traditiongeschichtliche. The form-critical conclusions are:

(i) The O. A. F. R. as a distinct literary type within the O. A. N. tradition, consisting of five basic form-elements: direct address; allegory; Begründung; Gerichtsankündigung; maxim.

(ii) The O. A. F. R. as representing in part the crystallization of "late" O. A. N. tendencies, evident particularly in its moralistic and theological concerns; in part, an archaising revival of "early" and "proto-" O. A. N. features such as the "lament" and the "taunt".

A number of conclusions pertain to the "traditions"-material incorporated within these oracles.

(i) The Hēlēl ben Šaḥar allegory points to a north-Canaanite origin. The myth-type is that of theomachy. Its O. T. parallels -- which provide additional and complementary details -- are Ps. 82 and Gen. 6:1-4. Outside the O. T., the Greek myth of Phaeton provides the closest analogue. The Ugaritic material, while not actually

attesting the myth, provides most of the dramatis personae: the bn šrm, rp'im, and Šḥr. The analogy with ʿAttar was considered to be generally unsatisfactory.

(ii) Ez. 28:12ff and 31:2ff reflect a Phoenician recension of an originally Mesopotamian paradise-saga. Its relation to the original -- which finds its chief O. T. expression in Gen. 2-3 -- is much closer than is generally assumed. The variations include the "wisdom" - characteristics of the first-man and, possibly, his royal status, as well as the identification of "Eden" with Mt. Ṣpn.

(iii) Underlying the allegorical and metaphorical descriptions of the Pharoah in Ez. 32 - and to a lesser extent, Ez. 29 - is a combat-myth involving Horus and Seth, especially as this myth finds expression in a royal Execration text.

Our purpose in the discussion immediately following is to draw out the implications of these conclusions for a vexing problem in O. T. research: viz. the penetration of foreign mythological materials into Israelite literature.[183]

The problem of ancient Near Eastern influence on Israelite religion and literature has undergone a radical change in treatment since it was first made the object of scientific investigation towards

the end of last century. Thus Gunkel,[184] examining the Mesopotamian material available in his day, concluded that the major influx of extraneous mythological matter into Israelite life and literature occurred at the time of the Babylonian exile.[185] This conclusion owed as much however to the radical character of Biblical literary criticism and exegesis as to the limitations of evidence.

Two interrelated factors have contributed to a reversal of this trend. One is the discovery of Bronze Age "Canaanite" materials, esp. Ugaritic, as well as additional Mesopotamian materials of the second millenium B. C. E., esp. the Nuzi and Mari finds. The second is the application of form-critical techniques to the Pentateuch, where a basic distinction has come to be drawn between the "document" framework and its contents. The result has been a conservativist consensus to date ancient Near Eastern cultural influences in the formative period of Israel's life, i. e. the middle-late Bronze and early Iron Ages.[186]

Still the role of the "Exile" remains problematic. That the Israelites took over the Babylonian calendar-system remains undeniable; that such a literary work as Job -- with its multitude of mythological allusions -- is an exilic or post-exilic work is similarly conceded. To this may now be added the evidence of the O. A. F. R. which can hardly be placed prior to the eighth century and is in fact probably much later. Briefly stated the problem is: if so much was available so early, why, in the O. T., does so much appear so late?

Gaster -- following Morgenstern and Albright -- sees it as the product of "a general archaeological revival which swept the whole of the Near East in the sixth-fifth centuries B. C. and... of an attempt to recapture the allegiance of the returning and assimilated Jewish exiles by representing their ancestral religion in terms of the 'Heathen' mythologies with which they had become acquainted."[187] Barr, on the other hand, denies the Exile such a preponderant role: "It seems unlikely that the situation of the Exile was a sufficient cause for the alleged upsurge of mythology among the Jews."[188]

Our form-critical study of the O. A. F. R. and its mythologically coloured materials suggests that the role of the Exile is not to be gainsaid. At the same time it points to Canaanite-Phoenician, rather than direct Babylonian influence. A completely satisfactory resolution of this seeming paradox must probably await a state of more satisfactory knowledge of the exilic period in Israelite history. The ingenious suggestion of Prof. Mazar[189] must however be registered as a possible first-step. The latter suggests that Ezechiel had direct access to Phoenician sources arising from the fact that Israelites and Phoenicians shared joint residence along the nār kabāru. Substantiation of this claim must inevitably pave the way for the solution to this and related problems.

NOTES

1. Particularly Is. 14; cf. Eissfeldt, The O. T.: An Introduction, p. 97: "one of the most precious of all Old Testament poems".

2. (1895), p. 131ff.

3. (1932), pp. 5-30.

4. HUCA 14 (1939), pp. 29-126.

5. Theological Studies 15 (1954), pp. 541-572; JBL 75 (1956).

6. RHR (1956), pp. 18-48.

7. VT Supplement (1955), p. 97ff.

8. F. Baumgärtel Festschrift (1959), pp. 131-157.

9. Muilenberg Festschrift (1962), pp. 166-177.

10. ASTI III, pp. 28-57.

11. A significant exception is Hedwig-Jahnow, op. cit., pp. 221-253. The author is nonetheless unconcerned with the question of O. A. N. - O. A. F. R. relationship, nor is a fixed pattern of composition -- over and above the common "lament" features -- observed.

12. "'Fire' and 'Exile'" motifs.

13. The closest approximation is Ez. 31:2: אל פרעה ואל המונו.

14. Cf. "Begründung" above.

15. The text in its present text is clearly defective (Cf. IB, V, p. 357) LXX has: οἱ ἀρχοντες αὐτῆς οὐκ εσονται
οἱ γάρ βασιλεῖς και οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αυτῆς εσονται εἰς ἀπώλειαν
on the basis of which we may reconstruct as follows: חריה אַיִן
(אֵין-שֵׁם) יקראו מלכה ושריה יהיו אפס
"Her nobles will be called 'Nothing' (or: will be nameless), her king and officers will be as naught." 1QIs is in all essentials identical with MT. Cf. also J. Muilenberg, "The literary character of Is. 34" JBL 59 (1940), p. 355.

16. The plural form of אדונים - in conjunction with singular and parallel to singular מלך - is perhaps to be taken as אדונ-ם i. e. "m-encliticum", frequently attested in Isaiah (e. g. 5:23, 9:18, 10:5): cf. Hummel, JBL 76 (1959) pp. 85-107.

17. Cf. e. g. the Annals of Sennacherib, ii 37ff (ANET, p. 287).

18. Cf. above, "Begründung".

19. Cf. also v. 18: בעול רכולתך

20. "'Yom Yahwe' in the O. A. N.", above.

21. Is. 14:4a. Though not explicitly stated, Ez. 31:2ff is a mašal in the same sense: Cf. below, pp. 289-290, 326-328.

22. Cp. also 28:2, 9. Despite a uniform fate, social stratification carries into Še'ôl: cp. Ez. 32:21ff; Isa. 14:9.

23. Erkenntnis Gottes (1954).

24. Wächter... op. cit., pp. 16-17.

25. Introduction, p. 93; cf. above, "Lament Features in the O. A. N."

26. Der Maschal, p. 69; cf. cross-reference in previous note.

27. Cf. H-Jahnow, op. cit., pp. 228ff.

28. Eissfeldt, Introduction, p. 97.

29. The maxim achieves classic expression in Rabbinic literature:

מאגרא רמא לבירא עמיקתא

30. Cf. the earlier discussions of √'abd and "wailing".

31. E. g. Zeph. 2:15: cf. shortly below, pp. 291ff.

32. So interpreted by IB, IV, p. 1028.

33. The literary relationship obtaining between 26:1-14 and 15-21 is a virtual epitome of the O. A. N. - O. A. F. R. relationship.

34. Cf. below, pp. 311-315, 339-340.

35. Ez. 26:15-21 and 27 are, in a sense, "mixed types" as well. But unlike 29:2-12, they are "O. A. N." composed along "O. A. F. R." lines.

36. Generally emended to מרהבה (√rhb), in line with LXX and now also 1QIs.

37. Suggested emendation - with LXX - : חוחֵם ; cf. below, pp. 313-315.

38. Cf. below, pp. 300ff; 315ff; 333ff.

39. √dmm, not √dmh: cf. Is. 14:13.

40. Cf. "Begründung", above.

41. The problem is rendered more complex by the historically ambiguous reference "King of Babylon", a title borne by Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian rulers. Cf. immediately below.

42. Cf. Eissfeldt Introduction, pp. 97, 320.

43. Eissfeldt concludes uncertainly that the subject is probably a Babylonian (ibid., p. 320); cf. similarly G. Quell, op. cit., pp. 156-157; Grélot, op. cit., p. 45; Tur-Sinai, Ha-lašon ve-hasefer I (1950), pp. 254-255. Morgenstern (op. cit., p. 110) goes still further in positing 486-476 B. C. E. as the date of compostion. On the other hand, an 8th century date has been defended by Winkler and Cobb (cf. ICC, p. 251) -- both noting that Sargon and Tiglath-Pileser refer to themselves as šarri babili (JBL 15 (1896) p. 29) -- as well as by C. Boutflower (Book of Isaiah (1930), p. 93), Y. Kaufmann (Religion of Israel, p. 381ff), A. Or, (Sēfer Biram, pp. 84-86), and H. L. Ginsberg (Anchor Bible, forthcoming).

44. Thus, the majority of arguments marshalled by Ginsberg -- in a Newsletter (May, 1965) of the Jewish Theological Seminary -- were anticipated by earlier defenders of the position. Cf. ICC, p. 251.

45. Cf. above, p.277and note 2.

46. φαετῶν from φαέθω : "to shine" (cf. Grélot, op. cit., p. 25); הילל from √hll, Ar. hilāl ("moon crescent"), Akk. ēllētu (cf. Astour, Hellenosemitica, pp. 138-139).

47. According to another tradition, however, the son of Eos ("Dawn").

48. Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. "Phaëton".

49. "Aithiopenmythen", Philologus (1889), pp. 329ff (cited by Kraeling, "The Significance and Origin of Gen. 6:1-4" JNES 6 (1947), p. 200). Cf. below, pp. 305-306, 310-311.

50. E. g. Morgenstern, Pope, Grélot and Quell, (op. cit.): also Schmidt, ThZ 7 (1951), p. 167; Childs, Myth and Reality (SCM: 1960), pp. 66-71.

51. Cf. W. F. Albright, JPOS 12 (1932), p. 192; Eissfeldt, Baal Zaphon..., (1932); Cassuto, האלה ענת, pp. 40-45.

52. Gaster, Thespis (1961), p. 431.

53. Gordon (UL, p. 58) renders: "sons of Šarru(ma)" and in parallelism with 'ilm n'mn.

54. ARI^4, pp. 83-84.

55. I AB, I 25ff (=Gordon, UM, 49).

56. Grélot (op. cit., p. 37) renders "l'arrogant".

57. UM 77, line 28f.

58. Gordon, UL, p. 64. This designation, implying a lion-god -- may explain the conceptually enigmatic ymlk barṣ 'il klh, the underlying idea being that the lion -- though "king" of the animal world -- is offered the rule of the entire world but is found to be without the requisite stature. Cf. further below, note 61.

59. Cf. Albright, op. cit., p. 83; Grélot, op. cit., p. 83; Astour, op. cit., p. 139.

60. Astour, op. cit., p. 138.

61. The translation is Gordon's (UL, p. 44). The designation of ʿAttr as lbů and the identification of this deity with Chemosh (Mesha, l. 13) is, to my mind the key to Mesha אראל O. T. אראלים - אריאל The subject is however, beyond the scope of this study.

62. I owe the term to Pope (op. cit.). For the tradition of Theomachy in the ancient Mediterranean world, cf. Güterbock, Kumarbi (1946).

63. The question of the relation of this myth to Ez. 28 is taken up below, p. 315f.

64. Specifically, the apochryphal and pseudepigraphical literature: e. g. Enoch, The Life of Adam and Eve (p. 99ff).

65. Op. cit., pp. 72, 117-118.

66. Cf. Aisleitner, Wörterbuch, n. 2680.

67. Cf. above, p.301 and note 53.

68. The continuation -- בשגם הוא בשר -- is extremely corrupted. It is tempting nonetheless to see in בשר a possible בַּשַּׂר : "with the Prince".

69. Lines 59^b-66^a. (Gaster, op. cit., p. 433).

70. Cf. above, note 49; also Gruppe, ZAW IX, (1889), pp. 135-155.

71. Cf. Kraeling, op. cit., p. 195.

72. Op. cit., pp. 268-269.

73. E. g. Gen. 14:5, Dt. 3:11. In the time of Saul-David, we find offspring of the Repha'im particularly among the Philistines (cp. 2 Sam. 21:15-22 // I Chron. 20:4-8. The former has רפה, the latter רפא). They are warriors of great physical dimension.

74. E. g. Isa. 26:14, Ps. 88:11. Cp. also Tabnît inscription, line 7: משכב את רפאם

75. A. Jirku, ZAW 77 (1965), p. 82.

76. Ibid., idem.

77. Cf. Heidel, EG, p. 61; ANET p. 87.

78. Kraeling (op. cit., p. 208) draws a further analogy with the Gibbôrîm of Ez. 32:21ff.

79. Cp. the similar fate of the Titans cast into Hades (Kraeling, ibid.).

80. Op. cit., pp. 117-118.

81. Cp. har mô'ed in the poem under discussion, verse 13 (Cassuto, op. cit., p. 40f.)

82. UL, p. 13.

83. Op. cit., Nos. 131, 2060.

84. UM, 9:31.

85. The sole instance of reflexive use of √aḥd -- in the Hithpa'el -- is Ez. 21:21. Nor does a verb √aḥd appear in Hebrew inscriptions (cf. Jean-Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire, p. 9).

86. Lit.: "tablets". Aisleitner's interpretation -- "Keckheit" -- is based on an Arabic root laḥa, to "insult". But the parallel with t'dt - Heb. תעדות -- would appear to be decisive.

87. Or, better: "King". Cp. Am. 1:3 והכרתי שופט מקרבה
וכל שריה אהרג עמו
The term שופט in Am. 1 is clearly a stylistic variant for מלך, reflecting the stereotyped expression: מלך ושרים.

88. Jirku, op. cit., p. 82.

89. It is worth noting that Morgenstern -- and previously Gunkel -- identify the כנכבי אל in 14:13 with the ʿdt ēl of Ps. 82:1. Cf. also Dahood (Orientalia, 1965, pp. 170-172) for a 6th cent. Punic parallel.

90. Cp. ירכתי צפון (vs. 13), identified by Eissfeldt (Baal Zaphon..., p. 14) with Mt. Ṣpn and Mons Casius.

91. Cf. above, p. 300 and note 89.

92. Gen. 6:2.

93. Cf. Gen. 6:3 וגם אחרי כן אשר יבואו בני האלהים אל בנות
האדם וילד להם המה הגיבורים...
The strange construction אשר יבואו is perhaps to be explained on the basis of Ug. √atr "to go" (cf. Aisleitner, s. v.) -- with יבואו constituting an explanatory gloss. Kraeling (op. cit., p. 202) draws the significant parallel with the second ("silver") generation of man created by the "Dwellers in Olympus" as described by Hesiod. He further equated the gibbôrîm with the antediluvian rulers of Sumer-Akkad (op. cit., p. 208).

94. "Greed" is the foremost characteristic of the Gracious Gods born -- be it noted -- after Šlm and Šḥr (cf. above, p. 301). Let it be recalled, moreover, that Lamech --the last of the antediluvian generations -- celebrated his murder(s) in song, while the term חמס -- "crime": Gen. 6:13; cp. also Ez. 28:16 -- is used in connection with the flood generation.

95. Cf. the Titans of Greek mythology and Nu. 13:33: בני הענק מן הנפילים perhaps to be emended to: בני הענקים מן הנפילים. LXX omits.

96. It is tempting to see the Tower of Babel story as a related -- if not identical -- act, despite its present position in the postdiluvian era.

97. The assumption of a "flood-motif" does not necessitate the conclusion that it is the Flood of Gen. 6:5ff and Glgameš, XI. Such an assumption would however account for: a) the flood-motif in the Phaeton myth b) the סמיכות פרשיות - "Juxtaposition of texts"-in Gen. 6.

98. Already Gunkel (op. cit., p. 133f) suggested that those who await Hēlēl are his "Bundesgenossen". It is not inconceivable -- in mythological terms -- that the previous generation (the רפאים) were accomplices. In Greek mythology, the Cyclopes--accomplices of the Titans--are repeatedly cast into Tartaros, only to be freed again when a battle erupts (cf. Kraeling, op. cit., p. 204).

99. Cp. however, Ez. 27:3, 28:2, 29:3.

100. The historicity and 10th-9th century origin of Ez. 27 -- where the mercantilism of Phoenicia is more dominant still -- has recently been defended by B. Mazar, The Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre (1964), p. 17. Cf. also Cheminant, Les Propheties... contre Tyr (1912), p. 116; D. Harden, The Phoenicians (1962), pp. 157-179.

101. Cf. Odyss, xv, 115-119 (Cheminant, op. cit., p. 120; Harden, op. cit., p. 160), where a Sidonian mixing-bowl is compared to the work of Hephaistos. Cf. also 1K. 7:13ff.

102. Cf. W. F. Albright, "Some Canaanite - Phoenician sources of Hebrew Wisdom", VT Supplement III (1955), pp. 1-16. The author points particularly to Prov. 8-9 (ibid., p. 7). Now the personification of primordial wisdom in Prov. 8:22f is stylistically and thematically related to the allegory in Ez. 28:12ff: Cp. Ez. 28:15 תמים אתה בדרכיך מיום הבראך
Prov. 8:30 ואהיה שעשועים יום יום משחקת לפניו בכל עת
Note also the "royal" language in 8:23 מעולם נסכתי מראש (= נְסַכְתִּי מֵי רֹאשׁ) with which we can compare Ez. 28:14: משח הסוכך (מ) . Recently, G. Sauer, (op. cit.) has suggested north-Canaan as the ultimate source of the O. T. wisdom-type, Zahlensprüche and Zahlensreihe. Pope (op. cit., pp. 97-98) sees here a reference to El's "eternal wisdom": Ḫkmt, ʿm ʾlm (IIAB, iv-v 41-42; UM, 51).

103. Cf. above, the "fire" motif.

104. Cf. Führer, Die Hauptprobleme..., p. 63; K. Yaron, op. cit. p. 28ff.

105. Yaron, op. cit., p. 32.

106. The phrase - asteriked by Origen - was before the Old Latin, as preserved by Hieronymous: uncto a deo with deo corresponding to sôkhēkh.

107. √skk: cp. Ps. 140:8 and especially the crux that is Nah. 3:6: ימהרו חומתה והכן הסוכך: cf. Ug. mhr: "servant"; "soldier". The idea in Ez. 28 may be parallel to that in Gen. 3:24.

108. Cf. Yaron - following Widengren - op. cit., p. 38f; May, op. cit., p. 169. LXX to Ez. 28:13 contains "twelve" only if one excises αρχύριον και χρυσιον from the list.

109. Ziegler (Septuaginta: Ezechiel) does not indicate Origen's having asteriked any of the Greek listings, but this need only indicate that his Hebrew text was similarly harmonized. Significantly perhaps, the Lucian recension adds a "13th" stone: ναχινθος : may this indicate a tendency to add to the original?

110. Cf. Gilgameš IX, v and below, pp. 321-322.

111. Op. cit., p. 147. Cf. also, H-Jahnow, op. cit., pp. 221ff.

112. El in the Ugaritic Texts (1955).

113. Cf. e.g., pp. 94ff. Pope (ibid., p. 92) credits Kapelrud -- Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts -- with having been the first to point out "that a hidden struggle between El and Baal is going on in the Ugaritic texts."

114. Ibid., p. 12.

115. Ibid., idem. The inner-contradiction that the author finds in Cassuto's position -- האלה ענת , p. 45 - is one of his own making:

"וביחז' כח, ב דברי הנגיד הכנעני של צור... מתכוונים אולי לאל הכנעני או לכל הפחות יש בהם מעין רמז אל "אל" היושב "בקרב אפיקי תהומותיים". אמנם בהמשך הכתוב, בדברי הנביא: ואתה אדם ולא אל, בודאי משמשת המלה כשם עצם כללי".

116. Cf. note above.

117. The Egyptian source is Papyrus Anastasi I -- ANET, p. 477[b] -- and the Assyrian, the Annals of Ashurbanipal and Esarhaddon.

118. Op. cit., pp. 91, 101.

119. Ibid., p. 102.

120. Ezechiel (HAT), 1955, p. 163, n. 3.

121. Cf. above, p. 277.

122. JBL 75, (1956), p. 324.

123. Ibid., p. 326.

124. E. g. King and Messiah (1955).

125. E. g. "'Knowledge' and 'life' in the creation story", VT. Supplement III (1955), pp. 103-120.

126. E. g. The King and the Tree of Life...(1951); "Early Hebrew Myths..." in MR&K, pp. 149-203.

127. "The King in the Garden of Eden", op. cit., pp. 166-177. Cf. also Tur-Sinai, Ha-lašon ve-hasēfer II, pp. 300-303.

128. E. g. Enoch 48:3, 62:1-3; cf. May op. cit., pp. 169ff; Bentzen, op. cit., pp. 18ff.

129. E. g. Widengren, Tree of Life, op. cit.

130. Cf. Yaron, op. cit., p. 40; Widengren, "Early Hebrew Myths...", p. 167.

131. May, op. cit., p. 172.

132. Ibid., idem. The same is true of "beauty": cp. the beauty of David, Absalom; also Ps. 45:3: יפיפית מבני אדם

133. A notable exception is Widengren's Tree of Life, op. cit.

134. According to Cooke (ICC) we should read: הנה תאשור יפה נוף with ארז בלבנון considered an explanatory gloss. This much seems certain: אשור is an error.

135. Cf. Speiser, Genesis, pp. 19-20.

136. ANET, p. 89[b]. Cf. also Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II", Orientalia XVII (1948), pp. 47-48.

137. Oppenheim, op. cit., reads hiṣṣi ilāni and renders: "garden of the Gods". But both reading and interpretation are uncertain: cf. R. C. Thompson, The Epic of Gilgamesh (1930).

138. Cf. Oppenheim, op. cit., p. 48: "This 'Garden of the Gods'... seems to have been the scene of an episode dealing probably with another attempt of Gilgamesh to obtain a means of escaping death."

139. Tree of Life, op. cit., p. 8.

140. Cp. also, from Egyptian sources (Wilson, ANET, p. 11): "Then mankind plotted something in the (very) presence of Re. Now then his majesty... was old, His bones were of silver, his flesh of gold, and his hair of genuine lapis lazuli. (Italics added).

141. I. e. תאשור בלבנון

142. Op. cit., p. 71. Cf. also F. M. Cross, H Th R (1962), p. 248: "The Elysium of Canaanite mythology."

143. Cf. AHw, s. v. The term is cognate with Heb. חרש - חרשה
Cp. Ez. 31:3: חרש מצל

144. This term is somewhat problematic. Some scholars take it as cognate with Heb. שדה , others with Accadian šad-du: cf. Eissfeldt, El im Ugaritischen Pantheon (1951), p. 30, n. 4; F. M. Cross, op. cit., pp. 249-50.

145. Naharin - Naharaim: cf. ANET, p. 29, n. 2.

146. So Führer, Hauptprobleme, p. 236 (following Jeremias); Widengren, Tree of Life, p. 8. Utnapištim's residence is described (XI, 196) as pī nârāti.

147. Speiser, op. cit., p. 20.

148. Similarly, Cassuto, Enc. Miq. II (1948), cols. 531ff. Contra Jahnow, op. cit., p. 224.

149. Cf. also Gen. 2:12.

150. Widengren ("Early Hebrew Myths", p. 166) compares the royal status of Ezeckiel's hero with Adapa. The latter is admittedly "wise" but there is no indication that he is a royal figure.

151. Cf. above, note 98. The evidence for a "royal Adam" in Gen. 2-3 is slim (cf. Engnell, op. cit.). If the Mesopotamian Adam was a royal figure, this cannot have been a dominant motif.

151a. It is noteworthy that אן (AN) is a highly frequent theophoric element in Amorite personal names, and apparently not just as a generic. Cf. H. B. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names, pp. 162ff. Cross (op. cit.) speaks of an "Amorite El."

152. Cooke, ICC, p. 339.

153. The mixture of 2nd and 3rd person forms is odd. We may have in גבהת a residual influence of the more typical 2nd person allegorical form. Cooke (ICC) emends to 3rd person.

154. Mistakenly rendered here - and in ch. 29 - תנים ("jackals"). The possible significance of the contrast between "lion" and tannîn is discussed below. The term tnn is now attested in Ugaritic (Aisleitner, s. v.) where it appears as a two-tailed (šnbtm) and seven-headed monster smitten (√mḥṣ) by Baal. Cp. now Gordon, "Leviathan", in Biblical Motifs (1966), p. 2.

155. Read נחרותיך for נהרותיך (cf. ICC ad loc.).

156. Cp. Akk. mē dalāhu.

157. נהרותם - "their rivers" - cannot be right. Either we have here a plural form with enclitic "m" or the dual נהרותים (cp. Ug. nhrm). nhr takes both masculine and feminine endings in the plural.

158. Cp. Jer. 48:14: נשברה מואב

159. Verse 16 appears to be an editional addition, parallel to verse 2, but intended to harmonize the former with the O. A. N. conclusion to the poem.

160. Cf. above, "The term maśśa'".

161. The form is problematic. We expect עשיתיו. LXX, which takes יארי as plural, renders: ἐγὼ εἰποίησα αὐτους
Perhaps we should emend to עשיתנו -waw mistaken for yod -: "I made it". Cp. אשיבנו.

161a. Op. cit., p. 146.

162. Op. cit., p. 138.

163. Ug. tnn did not appear till 1938; cf. Aisleitner, op. cit. p. 348.

164. Baal Zaphon..., p. 27.

165. Op. cit., p. 137.

166. Published by Blackman and Fairman JEA 21 (1935), pp. 26-36; JEA 28 (1942), pp. 32-38; JEA 29 (1943), pp. 2-36.

167. JEA 21, p. 34.

168. Reading רמותיך , with Sam. (Cf. Gaster, op. cit., p. 147).

169. JEA 29, p. 43, n. 20.

170. Gauthier, Dictionnaire Geographique IV, p. 190 (cited, ibid.).

171. This is not to deny that its original significance is probably "Snake" as evidenced by Ug. O. T. Hebrew does not however have a separate word for crocodile: cf. Heidel, Babylonian Genesis (1951), p. 104.

172. JEA 29, p. 10.

173. Ibid., p. 12.

174. JEA 28, pp. 37-38. Italics added.

175. Cf. above, Introduction.

176. Cf. above, "Yom Yahwe".

177. Similarly, Jahnow, op. cit., p. 242.

178. For the likely mythological background, cf. above, pp. 300ff.

179. Generally interpreted as √ḥlh: "to be sick; weak" (ICC, ad loc.) More probable, however, is an interpretation based on √ḥwl - √ḥll: cp. Job. 26:5.

180. Cp. Ps. 132:3: ערש יצועי

181. M. Noth, "Noah, Daniel, Hiob..." VT 1, p. 253.

182. Op. cit., p. 167.

183. The O. A. F. R. are frequently adduced as collateral evidence for divine-kingship theories in the ancient Near East: cf. e. g. Widengren: "Early Hebrew Myth", op. cit., pp. 165ff. The complexity of this problem -- cf. e. g. K. H. Bernhardt, Das Problem der altor. Königsideologie -- the voluminous discussion and its, at best, tengential relation to our material, places it beyond the scope of this investigation.

184. Op. cit., pp. 121ff.

185. Yet Gunkel could speak of "phönicisher Einfluss" regarding the O. T. creation story (ibid., p. 119) and Mesopotamian influence on Judah in the Assyrian epoch. (ibid., p. 139)

186. Cf. e. g. IDB III, art. "Myth" (T. H. Gaster), pp. 481-486; A. Bentzen, Introduction, pp. 241ff.

187. Thespis, op. cit., p. 142; see also IDB, op. cit.

188. J. Barr, "The meaning of 'mythology' in relation to the O. T.", VT 9, p. 10.

189. The Philistines..., op. cit., p. 17.

CONCLUSION

I. Summation

Our study of the O. A. N. tradition is now terminated. While it is readily conceded that the study is by no means exhaustive either of the breadth or depth of the tradition, it is hoped that the general contours and dominant characteristics have been satisfactorily described and analyzed, and in a fashion that will prove instructive and useful to future undertakings in this much-neglected domain of biblical literature.

The conclusions pertaining to the individual portions of the study have been stated previously so that it behoves us at this point only to formulate those which emerge from a consideration of the parts as a unity. These may be summarized as follows:

(a) The constant and abiding concern of the O. A. N. tradition is with Israel's historical, political and military foes. This concern is to be seen primarily in the superabundance of war-related motifs

of destruction and perdition, in the virtually unmitigated hate and hostility, in the revanchist ideology, and in the malicious delighting in the plight -- both actual and envisioned -- of the nations, which permeate -- indeed, are the very life-blood of -- the tradition.

(b) The literary prototype of, and the source of direct influence upon, the O. A. N. tradition, is the ancient Israelite war-taunt literature or Mošlim tradition, principally, and fragmentarily, represented by the Song of the Mošlim in Nu. 21. Various indications point to a non-Israelite -- especially Transjordanian -- provenance. In the course of its development the O. A. N. tradition can be seen to have absorbed a variety of influences, predominantly from the amphictyonic Holy War traditions and the pre-classical prophetic movement, influences which account for the prominence of the early prophetic eschatology of Yom Yahwe within the tradition.

(c) If it is virtually certain that the O. A. N. owes its originally prophetic character to pre-classical prophecy, it is no less certain that the prophets of the eighth and subsequent centuries exerted a not inconsiderable influence of their own. The evidence for this conclusion has thus far been the literary date of the O. A. N. tradition itself; but such a question cannot be fully decided without reference

to the non-O. A. N. material, specifically, the historical narratives and classical prophetic writings. For what is at issue here is nothing less than the problem of "prophetic continuity".

It is for this reason that we have chosen to conclude the study with brief consideration of this question, thereby checking, as it were, the results of our O. A. N. analyses as they bear on this problem with evidence drawn from outside the limits of the O. A. N. tradition.

II. The O. A. N. and the History of Prophecy

A. The "cultic prophet"

It is well known that present-day research into the prophets has undergone a radical change when seen against the background of turn-of-the-century treatments.[1] This change may be seen as the result of attempts to locate the phenomenon of Israelite prophecy within the spectrum of ancient Israelite religious life and experience as well as within the still broader spectrum of ancient Near Eastern religion. It is characterized by an emphasis on the cult of Israel -- variously conceived to be sure -- as a decisive influence, and by a consequent blurring of the "traditional" distinctions between priest and prophet,[2] "mantic" and "apostolic". Its identifying trademark is appropriately "the cultic prophet".[3]

Yet despite a facade of simplicity, the term "cultic prophet" is in fact fraught with ambiguity and controversy. Comparing the interpretations of Mowinckel[4] and Halder[5] — both exponents of the "Myth-Ritual" version of the "cultic prophet" hypothesis — Rowley has commented:[6]

> Mowinckel had brought the cultic prophets into association with non-Israelite groups, but had not involved the theory of cultic prophets in such embarrassment as (Halder's) extreme view threatened to do.

Within the ranks of the H-G and "covenant ritual" exponents of the hypothesis, internal dissension reached crisis proportions with the publications of H. G. Reventlow.[7] The author dared to suggest that the great canonical prophets like Amos, Jeremiah, and Ezechiel were cultic "office-holders", uttering their prophecies as participants in an amphictyonic-type covenant festival.[8] Comments Muilenberg:[9]

> Failure to recognize what is distinctive in the context of the conventional (forms of prophetic speech) characterizes the work of many of our younger scholars today, notably the work of... H. G. Reventlow... the prophets, we are told, have nothing at all new to say... but merely repeat traditional words, familiar clichés drawn from the cult. Now it is just as precarious to minimize the importance of the cult in the life of ancient Israel and to ignore its profound influence upon many of the prophetic formulations as it is to find a liturgy lurking in every prophetic corner.

The conservative reaction to the radical formulations of the cultic-prophet hypothesis finds similar expression in H. H. Rowley's aforementioned article:[10]

> If there were cultic prophets who had a defined place in the ritual of the shrines, and who shared with the priests in the services which took place there as officials of the cultus, it is impossible to suppose that the major cononical prophets exercised their ministry in this way.

The ambiguity of the concept "cultic prophet" reflects additionally the diversity of approach characteristic of the two major "schools" of O. T. interpretation.[11] The M-R approach to the problem involves the following procedures:

(a) The establishing of "cultic prophecy" as a general ancient Near Eastern phenomenon.[12]

(b) Discussion of <u>selected</u> aspects of the history of Israelite prophecy, as observed especially in the writings designated 'former prophets', with a view to establishing the priestly (hence, "cultic") characteristics of such former prophets.[13]

(c) The determining of certain psalms—whose cultic character this school takes as axiomatic—to be prophetically authored.[14]

The rather limited attention paid to the literary materials of the 'writing' prophets is easily discerned in the M-R exposition of the cult-prophet hypothesis. Such reference as is made pertains essentially to passages about the prophets, including the autobiographical initiation of Isaiah in the Temple (chap. 6), the allusions to prophets in Jeremiah (e.g. Jer. 29:26, 23:11) and the priestly ancestry of Jeremiah and Ezechiel.[15] It is further characteristic of this methodology that the terms "priestly" and "cultic" are virtually interchangeable:

> ... priest and temple prophet may... on some occasions have been one and the same person ... the priest speaks (in the psalms) like a prophet and in the traditional style of the prophetic speech.[16]

The H-G interpretation of the cult-prophet hypothesis distinguishes itself both procedurally and substantively from that of the M-R school.

(a) Whereas the M-R school borrows its conceptual models from outside Israel and sees O. T. prophecy as part of an overall "pattern", the H-G exponents argue for a biblical prophetic type more or less sui generis. This follows directly from the

presuppositions of the H-G School with regard to the ancient Israelite cult, viz. the covenant-renewal festival, which is thus far unattested in extra-biblical sources.[17] The cultic character of the prophet expresses itself not as priestly practitioner but rather as covenant mediator.[18]

(b) The O. T. materials which constitute the proof-texts are Deuteronomy and the writings of the canonical prophets. Utilizing form-critical and traditio-historical techniques, exponents of this school consider the modes of prophetic speech and the central concepts of prophetic theology as direct reflexes of covenant language.[19]

This latter methodological procedure involves many scholars in a crisis of conscience. Few are prepared to carry matters to their logical conclusion in assuming the canonical prophets as Amtsträger in a covenant-cultic setting.[20] Since their analysis is based on a form-critical analysis of the classical prophetic texts—rather than the Psalter or historical-prophetic sources—the "escape-hatch" inherent in the M-R school is absent. The result is a de facto denial of the cultic-prophet hypothesis in its H-G version by members of the H-G school itself.[21]

It was observed that a major consequence of the M-R approach was to bridge the gap between 'prophet' and 'priest'. The bridging of a different gap—simultaneously a most serious challenge to the Wellhausian documentary hypothesis—stands to the credit of the H-G school. The conception of the prophet as "covenant-mediator" involves as a necessary corollary the realization that "the prophets were indebted to Israel's legal traditions both for the form and for the substance of their proclamations."[22] Not only does the evidence point to the legal antecedents of prophecy, but specifically to the book of Deuteronomy with its weighty emphasis on the covenant relationship, the figure of Moses as covenant-mediator, and a preoccupation with prophecy.[23] Far from signifying "the death of prophecy"[24] Deuteronomy -- or Urdeuteronomium -- appears as the source of its vitality.[25]

We cannot undertake a detailed critique of the cult-prophet hypothesis within the scope of this study. This much, however, can be said:

(a) The equation of "prophet" and "priest" in the M-R approach is sociologically suspect in addition to being unwarranted by the totality of the evidence. Not only are the canonical prophets disregarded, but a certain one-sidedness is even characteristic of

the treatment accorded the "former prophets", specifically the disregard for their political orientation and court affiliations. It seems to be characteristic of this "School" that it defines its concepts too narrowly, be it "Sitz-im-Leben" or "cultic prophets".[26]

(b) The H-G approach, with the exceptions noted above, is marked by a reluctance to draw the necessary conclusions from its analysis, thus in a sense abdicating on the Sitz-im-Leben question as applied to O. T. prophecy. The treatments by Reventlow and Würthwein on the other hand involve another difficulty, one that besets the very presuppositions of the H-G school, viz. the nature of Israel's cult during monarchic times, if not in the North at least in the South.[27] Specifically, one searches the O. T. sources in vain for even the slightest allusion to prophets -- "former" or "latter" -- officiating at covenant-festivals.

(c) Common to both approaches is the inability to deal with the problem of continuity in the history of prophecy. That the M-R school fails to do so derives from their disregard of the classical prophetic materials as well as their innate hesitation in equating the canonical prophets with their portrait of the cult-prophet.[28] The charge would seem to be less than fair when directed at the H-G School, yet only apparently so. The problem of continuity in its

H-G definition involves prophecy and the law, not "former" and "latter". The "School" has yet to take a stand on the inner differences, if any, in the covenant-mediation process that is the history of prophecy. That Moses is "the supreme prophet, the archetypal prophet, the first of the prophetic order"[29] merely begs the questions: "archetypal" in relation to whom? Did Elijah and Isaiah belong to one "prophetic order"?

It is precisely for this question of continuity that the historical implications of our treatment of the O. A. N. material are most pertinent. For if our conclusions as to the literary history of the O. A. N. tradition be accepted, than the existence of a prophetic continuity is established. It follows, furthermore, that this continuity is to be sought not in terms of the cultic function -- sensu stricto -- of prophecy, but rather in its political role.[30] The royal court -- rather than the sanctuary -- is the sociological locus -- or Sitz-im-Leben -- of Israelite prophecy. Interpreted in the light of the O. T. historical sources -- especially the "former prophets" -- it would appear that the O. A. N. tradition owes its formative development to ninth-century Israelite -- and especially north Israelite -- court-prophetic circles and that the O. A. N. tradition is the legacy of 9th century prophecy to

its classical exponents of the 8th and subsequent centuries. Finally, the very important notice in Jer. 1:5 -- to be discussed shortly -- suggests that such prophets bore the title: nabî' la-goyyîm.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a cursory examination of "former prophecy" and the problem of nabî' la-goyyîm.

B. The nabî' la-goyyîm

The political involvement of prophecy is traceable to its very beginnings with Samuel and continues unabated thereafter.[31] Such figures as Gad and Nathan are employed at the court and play significant roles in the political process. It is, however, in the 9th century that we are able to observe the court-prophet at work, with the added bonus that some of their ipsissima verba may well have been preserved in the deuteronomistic narratives.[32] The classic case is, of course, the Mikhaiu ben Imlah story (I. K. 22), where four-hundred prophets are assembled for consultation.[33]

The political-military activities of 9th century prophecy come under the following headings:

(a) Pre-battle consultation (I. K. 22:2f)

(b) Individual and impulsive prophetic activity on the battlefield itself (I. K. 20:26ff)

(c) "Military chaplaincy"[34] (2K. 3)

This picture of prophecy has its ancient Near Eastern parallels. The barū of Mesopotamia figure in the Mari letters precisely as "military chaplains"[35] while other types show themselves vitally interested in, and exerting influence upon, the course of political development.[36] In the prophecies of the Egyptian Neferti (Nefer-Rohu), the "court milieu" is similarly dominant.[37]

In addition, however, to the aforementioned typical activities of a political and mantic character characterizing the "former" prophets, there are a number of less well-defined -- indeed, enigmatic -- actions taken by prophetic persons. I refer to the commission -- originally to Elijah and then to Elishah -- to anoint Hazael, king of Aram (I K. 19:15, II K. 8:7). Writes Gottwald:[38]

> It is the sole instance of an Israelite prophet's addressing a foreign official in person on his own soil.

The episode does have its analogue, however, in the fictionalized account of Jonah ben Amittai, a north-Israelite prophet in the first half of the 8th century.

These actions lose something of their enigmatic quality when the words of Elisha in 2K. 8:12 are examined.

... כי ידעתי את אשר תעשה לבני ישראל רעה
מבצריהם תשלח באש ובחריהם בחרב תהרג
ועלליהם תרטש והרתיהם תבקע

The language is strongly reminiscent of the O. A. N. generally and Am. 1:3, 7, 10, 13, in particular. Now it is customary to assume -- and probably correctly -- that the oracles against foreign nations were uttered on Israelite soil. Still, the actions of Elisha and Jonah suggest that on some occasions at least Israelite prophets may have been active in the foreign and neighboring capitols of Aram, Moab, etc. More significant, however, is the experience of having been so commissioned, an experience which figures as a motif in the prophetic calls both of Moses and Jeremiah.[39] (Ex. 3:10, Jer. 1:5, 7). That such a conception goes hand-in-hand with the O. A. N. tradition seems clear; that such figures as Elijah and Elisha may have had a part in the development and transmission of O. A. N. material is thus not to be gainsaid.

The preceding discussion refers to the pre-classical prophetic age. When we enter the classical prophetic period, we no longer are served by detailed narratives of prophetic personalities. Still, certain characteristic prophetic activities recorded in the prophetic writings suggest a continuity precisely in terms of political action and interest. Of Isaiah we are told of his addressing Ahaz in the midst of a serious political crisis (Is. 7); the biographic narratives in Is. 36-39 (=II K. 19:20ff) record his royally commissioned activity during the Sennacherib invasion of 701.

It is to Jeremiah, however, that we must turn to find the confirming evidence. As concerns the political role of Jeremiah himself, we may point to the following:

(a) The prophet is consulted in times of political crisis (21:1f). The √drš here employed is significant: in certain cases it appears to be a technical cultic term denoting the act of ad hoc inquiry of the Divine, with the hope of resolving a specific problem.[40]

(b) 27:2f is positive proof that Jeremiah was in contact with foreign rulers. The nations mentioned are significantly the neighboring ones that figure so prominently in the O. A. N. tradition: Edom, Moab, Amon, and Phoenicia.

(c) The most telling evidence for the continuity of political prophecy -- inclusive of the classical prophets -- lies in Jeremiah's self-identification with his prophetic predecessors.[41]

Jer. 28:8 הנביאים אשר היו לפני ולפניך מן העולם
וינבאו אל ארצות רבות ועל ממלכות גדולות...

36:2 ... הדברים אשר דברתי אליך על ישראל
ועל יהודה ועל כל הגוים[42]

It is not however unambiguously clear that the prophets referred to in 28:8 are specifically O. A. N. prophets; the statement must be understood in terms of Jeremiah's self-identity as expressed in the so-called "call-pericope" (1:4-10).

The pericope in question -- along with Isa. 6, Amos 7 and Ez. 1 etc. -- constitutes the typical initiation into prophecy.[43] In vs. 5 we read: נביא לגוים נתתיך and in vs. 10: ראה הפקדתיך היום הזה על הגוים ועל הממלכות, the latter stylistically reminiscent of 28:8. These passages have proved most troublesome for modern exegetes, and have resulted in numerous attempts at emendation.[44] Few scholars have been prepared to take the text at

face-value -- viz. that Jeremiah conceived of himself first and foremost as a "prophet to the nations" -- the most important reason being that despite the O. A. N. collection in 25:15ff, 46-51, the majority -- and most characteristic -- of Jeremiah's prophecies deal with his own people.[45] F. Bardtke is one of the few prepared to see Jeremiah as a "Fremdvölkerprophet". His proposed solution for the aforementioned problem is to assume that "Jeremia in seiner... Anfangszeit ein Fremdvölkerprophet gewesen ist, der seinem eigenem Volk das Heil verkündigt..."[46] Bardtke is however unable to explain the volte-face, except that such a role proved ultimately unsatisfactory to a man of Jeremiah's psychological make-up. It is further a characteristic -- and a failing -- in Bardtke's approach that he sees Jeremiah's O. A. N. Anfangszeit purely as a reflex of the given historical circumstances of the latter part of the 7th century, despite the fact that form-critically the "call-pericope" stands in a long tradition traceable to the Elohist's account of Moses' summons to prophecy.[47] Nor is Bardtke able to point to any textual evidence to support his hypothesis of a radical -- indeed, existential -- transformation in Jeremiah's life subsequent to his call to prophecy.

Now it is well-known that Jeremiah -- more so than any other prophet -- is conscious of himself as standing in a line of succession to ancient Israelite tradition in general and the prophetic tradition in

particular. This can be seen in the stylistic affinities with Hosea[48] and - in his O. A. N. collection - with Amos; his reference to Samuel and Moses (15:1)[49] as well as the covenant-theology that he shares with Deuteronomy and the Book of Covenant (Ex. 20-24). But this consciousness nowhere expresses itself more clearly than in 1:4-10, the call-to-prophecy.

Many have observed that Jer. 1:4-10 -- despite its typological affinity with Isa. 6, Am. 1., etc. -- bears the most striking resemblance to Ex. 3:4f.[50] A juxtaposition of parallel passages illustrates the point.

(i)	Ex. 3:12	... כי אהיה עמך
	Jer. 1:7	... כי אתך אנכי
(ii)	Ex. 4:10	לא איש דברים אנכי
	Jer. 1:6	הנה לא ידעתי דבר[51]
(iii)	Ex. 4:12	... אנכי אהיה עם פיך והורתיך
	Jer. 1:9	... הנה נתתי דברי בפיך

What seems to have gone unnoticed, however, is the no less certain relationship in the respective conceptions of the prophet's mission. The mission in Ex. 3 is spelled out in vs. 10:

לכה ואשלחך אל פרעה

It is to be noted that while Moses' ultimate purpose must be to free his people, his immediate commission is not to the Israelites but to the foreign ruler, Pharoah. It is this commission to Pharoah that serves as the prototype of Jeremiah's "prophecy to the nations" in 1:5, 10.[52]

Still, the specific expression נביא לגוים remains unexplained and unaccounted for. It is reasonably certain that the genitival relationship indicated by the preposition is "objective" rather than "possessive", and that we must render "prophet to the nations". This observation would appear to rule out נביא לד׳ (I K. 18:22; 22:7; II K3:11; II Chron. 28:9) as an idiomatic parallel.[53] Yet one cannot but see in the latter at the very least a remarkable coincidence: for with the exception of the Chronicles passage -- where, significantly perhaps, the prophet appears in a battle-situation -- the construction - נביא לד׳ - appears precisely in those narrative contexts depicting the ninth-century court-prophecy discussed above, including the locus classicus, I. K. 22.

The following hypothesis, accordingly, while admittedly conjectural is by no means unlikely, viz. that the idiom נביא לגוים is a quasi-technical term of ninth-century origin referring to the O. A. N. functions of the pre-classical prophets who prophesied

אל ארצות רבות ועל ממלכות גדולות,

who on occasion could be "sent" on missions to foreign countries, on others -- presumably more common -- pronounced on matters political and military, either at the court or on certain cultic occasions. Such an hypothesis coincides with our overall conclusion — independently and by different criteria derived — concerning the O. A. N. tradition, viz. the pre-classical prophetic origin of numerous motifs and literary stereotypes. The hypothesis further coincides with the literary continuity of O. A. N. prophecy as evidenced not only by the O. A. N. collections in the canonical prophetic writings but most especially by the form-critical evidence for the stamp of classical prophecy upon the tradition. Finally, in the particular case of Jeremiah, the hypothesis serves to explain the fact that most of the traditional O. A. N. material is attested in this prophet's collection, a prophet who was truly possessed of a "profound feeling for Israel's ancient traditions."[54]

NOTES

1. Cf. inter alia, Clements, Prophecy and Covenant (1963), pp. 14ff; H. G. Reventlow, Das Amt des Propheten..., pp. 7-8; Muilenberg, "The 'office' of the Prophet" in The Bible in Modern Scholarship, pp. 74-79.

2. Cf. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship II (1962), p. 56, n. 20: "It is a quite unhistorical idea that there existed in Israel from the beginning a tension between 'prophetic piety' and temple cult, or even any opposition on the part of the former against the latter."

3. Cf. e.g. A. R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel (1944); N. W. Porteous, "The Prophets and the Problem of Continuity" in Israel's Prophetic Heritage, p. 12: "Today the expression 'cultic prophet' is almost taken for granted." Cf. also Napier, IDB III, p. 900.

4. Psalmenstudien III.

5. Associations of Cult Prophets.

6. "Ritual and the Hebrew Prophets" in MR&K, p. 246.

7. Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos (1962); Wächter uber Israel (1962); Liturgie und Prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia (1963).

8. Cf. Das Amt... pp. 111-116.

9. Op. cit., p. 89.

10. Op. cit., p. 251. Cf. also von Rad, "Die Falsche Propheten", ZAW (1933) pp. 109ff, where the equation is made between "cultic" and "false" prophet.

11. Cf. above, "Yom Yahwe".

12. The pioneering work was Halder's, op. cit. It is the latter's conclusion (p. 63) that "there was no clear distinction in Mesopotamia between 'priest' and 'prophet'" that still serves the M-R school's interpretation of the O. T. evidence (e. g. Johnson, op. cit.) as the basic comparativist underpinning. G. Lanczkowski's interpretation of Egyptian prophecy (Altägyptischer Prophetismus (1960) also draws heavily on the comparative evidence from Palestine and Mesopotamia: cf. pp. 17ff, 52ff. Particularly significant is the variety of prophetic types now known from the Mari texts including the barū, maḫḫu, and apīlu: Cf. von Soden, in Die Welt des Orients 1 (1950), pp. 397ff; A. Lods, in Studies in O. T. Prophecy (1950), pp. 103ff; M. Noth, in BJRL 32 (1950), pp. 194ff (=GS, pp. 230ff); H. Schmökel, in ThLZ 76 (1951), pp. 53ff; A. Malamat EI IV, pp. 74ff.

13. Cf. Rowley, op. cit., p. 244: "The thesis (of cultic prophecy) rests on the frequent association of priests and prophets with one another and with the Temple, and of prophets with cultic occasions." This procedure is best exemplified by Johnson, op. cit.

14. This is the main line of approach pursued by Mowinckel -- Ps. St. III; The Psalms... op. cit., -- and by Johnson, Sacral Kingship. The psalms considered by Mowinckel to be "prophetic" -- in whole or in part -- are: 12, 14, 50, 75, 81-82, 85:9ff; 87, 89:20-38, 95, 132:11-18. The "prophetic" is to be seen, according to Mowinckel in the beneficent answers or "promises" of the deity to an individual supplicant (=psalms of "lamentation"), to the king on special festive occasions (e.g. his wedding or coronation), or to the congregation as a whole, especially at the New Year Festival. Cf. Psalms in Israel's Worship II, pp. 58-65.

15. Cf. Rowley, op. cit., pp. 244-245; Mowinckel, Psalms... pp. 55-56.

16. Mowinckel, ibid., p. 58. Cf. also Johnson, Cultic Prophet, p. 2f. The equation receives prima facie support from the Mesopotamian bāru. Not only is the latter a priest-prophet, but the term itself derives from a root meaning "to see" just as rô'eh and ḥôzeh appear as synonymous with nābî' in the O. T.

17. Cf. above, "Yom Yahwe", pp. 58ff; Clements, op. cit., pp. 11-26, 119-126. The O. T. witness to a deity named Ba'al-Bĕrîth at Shechem (Ju. 8:33, 9:4) argues for Canaanite antecedents. Cf. G. E. Wright, Shechem (1965), p. 135.

18. Muilenberg, op. cit., p. 85.

19. Cf. G. E. Wright, "The Law Suit of God" in Israel's Prophetic Heritage, pp. 26-67; C. Fensham, in ZAW 74 (1962), pp. 1-9.

20. The exceptions are Reventlow (op. cit.) and Würthwein, ZAW 62 (1950), pp. 10-52. The "conservative" reaction to the latter is F. Hesse's paper in ZAW 65 (1953), pp. 45-53. The upshot of the latter's criticism, however, is to virtually undermine the notion of the prophet as "covenant mediator": "Ich vermag nicht anzuerkennen dass es eine Funktion der israelitischen Kultpropheten gewesen sein soll, in Namen Jahwes gegen das eigene Volk Anklage zu erheben." (ibid., p. 46). This re-affirmation of the Heilsprophetie - Kultprophetie equation is, as Reventlow has shown (Das Amt...p. 13) irreconcilable with the conditional "blessing-curse" format of the covenant Gattung, a Gattung upon which the H-G form-criticism of the classical prophetic texts is based.

21. Cf. e.g. von Rad, Theologie II, p. 64f. H. J. Krauss (Gottesdienst, pp. 124-125) attempts an M-R -- H-G symbiosis:

> ...der Kultus erforderte... nicht nur priesterliche Funktionen, sondern auch charismatische Mittler... In der Bundes - und Heilstradition Israels hatten diese Kultpropheten ihren Festen Platz... Es ist nicht recht klar, wie bei diesen Gottessprüchen und Orakeln Priesterlicher Auftrag und prophetisches charisma sich zueinander verhielten.

Note the echoes of Mowinckel's priest-prophet identification (above, p. 373).

22. Muilenberg, op. cit., p. 75; cf. also Porteous, op. cit., 11-25.

23. Cf. Muilenberg, ibid.; von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy.

24. Wellhausen, Prolegomena (Meridian: 1958), p. 402.

25. Here too, however, one finds a reluctance on the part of some H-G scholars to draw the logical conclusions. Thus von Rad (Studies in Deuteronomy, p. 69): "... is it seriously possible to consider the prophets, of any description, as the representatives of the traditions which Deuteronomy brought to life again?.... The prophetic in Deuteronomy is merely a form of expression and a means of making the book's claim to be mosaic real (italics added)." One wonders how von Rad reconciles this conclusion with the admission that both Deuteronomy and the prophetic Yom Yahwe concept go back to Holy War traditions (cf. above, "Yom Yahwe").

26. Cf. the remarks in connection with "Yom Yahwe", above.

27. Reventlow (Das Amt...pp. 111-116) seems to sense the difficulty when he declares that, in the time of Amos, Jerusalem is recognized as the "amphictyonic Mittelpunkt and the locus of the cultic institutions of the twelve tribes."

28. Halder (op. cit., p. 119) is less inhibited: "there is unbroken continuity down to the later pre-exilic prophets. This point must be heavily underlined in confutation of all those who contend that we are faced by an entirely different type of ecstasy in the 'scriptural prophets'." Mowinckel's attempt to account for classical prophecy on psycho-phenomenological grounds -- thereby maintaining the sociological connection -- is less than satisfactory. Cf. Psalms in Israel's Worship, p. 57 and the criticism in A. H. J. Gunneweg, Mündlich und Schriftliche Tradition der vorexilischen Propheten-bücher (1959), p. 89f. We may note here parenthetically that the attempt to make Amos a cultic official via the term nôqēd -- Ug. nqd -- has proven unsuccessful: Cf. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, pp. 193-194.

29. Muilenberg, op. cit., p. 87.

30. Cf. G. E. Wright, "Law-Suit", op. cit., p. 63, n. 68: "the prophet was an official of the divine government of Israel; hence the 'politics' of the office... is what is centrally important." (The italics are Wright's). The political aspect of "former" prophecy was stressed by Gressman, Der Messias, p. 73f.

31. Of the many discussions of "former" prophecy -- in commentaries, Introductions, etc., -- cf. especially N. K. Gottwald, All the Kingdoms of the Earth (1963), pp. 45ff; von Rad, Heilige Krieg, pp. 53ff.

32. Cf. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, p. 82.

33. The number "400" is probably stylized, intended to sharpen the contrast with the solitary Mikhaiu and perhaps to malign by association with the 450 prophets of Baal (I. K. 18:22).

34. Gottwald, op. cit., p. 71.

35. Haldar, op. cit., p. 66.

36. A. Lods, op. cit., p. 109.

37. Cf. ANET, pp. 444-446, and especially the following passages:

> Come, pray (says Pharoah) Nefer-rohu my friend,
> that thou mayest say to me a few fine words...

In the course of Neferti's remarks, there occurs the following typical O. A. N. pronouncement:

> The Asiatics will fall to his sword and the Libyans will fall to his flame.

Cp. Jer. 25:27, 48:2, 50:35f; Ez. 30:4. See also S. Hermann, "Prophetie in Israel und Agypten", VT Supplement (1962), pp. 48-65; G. Lanczkowski, op. cit., p. 96. The latter considers the court-prophecy of Neferti a "late" development, a consideration motivated in part by his conception of the "Bauer" as the prophetic archetype.

38. Op. cit., p. 77.

39. Cf. further, shortly below. It is perhaps significant that Ex. 3:4ff is commonly attributed to the 9th century Elohist. Cf. von Rad, Theologie II, pp. 67-68.

40. Cf. e. g. Gen. 25:22; II. K. 1:2-3, 22:13; II Chron. 25:30, the latter in a battle-situation. Cp. also Ez. 14:10 where

41. Cf. W. J. Holladay, "The Background of Jeremiah's Self-Understanding", JBL 83 (1964), pp. 153-164.

42. The phrase ועל כל הגוים is considered by Bardtke, (ZAW 53, p. 212) a harmonizing gloss; cf. however Rudolph, op. cit., p. 210.

43. Cf. e. g. von Rad, Theolgie II, pp. 67ff; Rudolph, op. cit., p. 5f.

44. Cf. Bardtke, op. cit., p. 214; Rudolph, ibid., p. 5.

45. Rudolph's solution (ibid.) is to see לגוים as a kind of "dative of reference" with גוים itself including - not excluding - Israel. Like Bardtke he sees the specific historical circumstances as decisive:

"... in Jer's Zeit war Israel.. so eng mit den vorderasiatischen Völker verflochton, dass das Schicksal Judas, das der Prophet zu verkünden hatte auch die anderen beruehrte." (Italics added) In that case, however, we should have expected at least ליהודה/ישראל to accompany לגויים in the manner of 36:2. For a critical evaluation of this and other attempts at a solution, cf. Reventlow, Liturgie, pp. 41ff.

46. Op. cit., p. 217. Cf. also Reventlow, ibid., p. 45: "Die Fremdvölker-verkündigung gehört zu den genuinen Aufgaben eines Propheten." The basis for the conclusion is, however, unsound. "Das Prophetenamt ist ein Königliches Amt... Auftrag zur Herrschaft über die Völker". This determination is completely arbitrary.

47. Cf. immediately below. Eissfeldt (Introduction, p. 364) finds Bardtke's proposal "unacceptable" without any reasons given.

48. E.g. Jer. 2:2f - Hos. 2:16f: cf. von Rad, Theologie II, p. 204.

49. The full significance of this reference is more readily appreciated in the light of the discussion which follows.

50. Cf. von Rad, Theologie II, pp. 67-68; Holladay, op. cit., pp. 154-155; Rudolph, op. cit., p. 10. Y. Kaufmann (op. cit., III, p. 434) sees here the influence of Deuteronomy. The disagreement is less serious than appears at first sight, since the stylistic affinities between D. and E. are well-known. (cf. Driver, Introduction, pp. 73-76). A literary relationship between D. and Jer. is clear from a comparison of Deut. 18:18, Jer. 1:9. The influence of Amos 7 makes itself felt in Jer. 1:11ff.

51. The continuation - כי נער אנכי - derives from the Samuel version of "the call", but the latter is similarly based on Ex. 3:4ff. Cp. I. Sam. 2:4, Ex. 3:4 (ויאמר הנני). As the reference in 15:1 indicates, Jeremiah was most conscious of Moses and Samuel as his spiritual ancestors. Cf. Holladay, op. cit., and and idem, JBL 85 (1966), pp. 17ff.

52. A reflex of this tradition - as mediated via Jeremiah - is perhaps to be seen in Ez. 2:3: שולח אני אותך אל בני ישראל אל גוים/מורדים Note the term goyyîm. The plural form makes the term problematic as a parallel to בני ישראל . LXX omits. Final "m" of גוים is perhaps "enclitic", equivalent to גוי המורדים and stylistically synonymous with בית המרי . (e.g. 12:2, 9)

53. Bardtke, op. cit., p. 214, n. 1.

54. J. Bright, Jeremiah (Anchor), p. LXXXVII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

AISLEITNER, J. Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache (Berlin, 1965).

ALBRIGHT, W. F. "The North Canaanite Epic of 'Alîyân Baal and Mot", JPOS 12 (1932), pp. 185-208.

_____ "The Oracles of Balaam", JBL 63 (1944), pp. 207-233.

_____ "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Ps. 68)", HUCA 23 (1950), pp. 1-39.

_____ Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, (4th ed., 1956).

_____ "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom", Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East, (VT Supplement III, 1960), pp. 1-16.

ALONSO-SCHÖKEL, L. "Stylistische Analyse bei den Propheten", Vetus Testamentum Supplement VII (1959) pp. 154-164.

ASTOUR, M. Hellenosemitica (Leiden, 1965).

BACH, R. Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf in Alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch (1962).

BALTZER, K. Das Bundesformular (1960).

BARDTKE, F. "Jeremia der Fremdvölkerprophet", ZAW 53, pp. 209-239; ZAW 54, pp. 240-262.

*Includes only such works as are cited directly.

BARR, J. "The Meaning of 'Mythology' in Relation to the Old Testament", VT 9, pp. 1-11.

BENTZEN, A. Introduction to the O. T. (1948).

_____ "The Ritual Background of Amos 1:2 - 2:16", O. T. S. 8 (1950), pp. 85-99.

_____ King and Messiah (London, 1955).

BERNHARDT, K-H. Das Problem der Altorientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament (Vetus Testamentum VIII, 1961).

BERTHOLET, A. "Zu Amos 1:2", Bonwetsch Festschrift (1918), pp. 1-12.

BLACKMAN and FAIRMAN. "The Myth of Horus at Edfu", JEA 21 (1935), pp. 26-36; 28 (1942), pp. 32-38; 29 (1943), pp. 2-36.

de BOER, "An Inquiry into the Meaning of the Term [illegible]", O. T. S. 5 (1948), pp. 197-214.

BOUTFLOWER, C. The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1 - 39, in the Light of the Assyrian Monuments (1930).

BRICHTO, H. Ch. The Problem of Curse in the Hebrew Bible (JBL Monograph XIII, 1963).

BRIGHT, J. A History of Israel (1959).

_____ Jeremiah (Anchor Bible, 1965).

CASSUTO, M. D. Ha-ēlah 'Anat (Heb.), (Jerusalem, 1953).

CASSUTO, U. Rēsît ha-historiographia be-Yiśrael (Heb.), EI 1 (1951), pp. 85-88.

ČERNÝ, L. The Day of Yahweh and some Relevant Problems (1948).

CHEMINANT, P. Les Prophéties d'Ezechiel Contre Tyr (Paris, 1912).

CHILDS, B. S. Myth and Reality (SCM Press, 1960).

CLEMENTS, R. E. Prophecy and Covenant (SCM Press, 1965).

COBB, W. H. "The Ode in Isaiah 14", JBL 15 (1896), pp. 18-35.

COHEN, S. "The Political Background of the Words of Amos", HUCA 34 (1965), pp. 153-160.

COOKE, G. A. A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions (1903).

_____ The Book of Ezeckiel (ICC, 1936).

COPPENS, J. "Les oracles de Bilĕam", Mélanges Eugène Tisserant I (Vatican City, 1964), pp. 67-80.

CROSS, F. M., JR. "The Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult", Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations (Lown Studies and Texts III), pp. 11-30.

_____ "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs", H Th R (1962), pp. 225-259.

CROSS and FREEDMAN. Early Hebrew Orthography (1952).

_____ "The Song of Miriam", JNES XIV (1955), pp. 237-250.

DAHOOD, M. "Punic hkkbm 'l and Is. 14:13", Orientalia (1965), pp. 170-172.

DONNER, H. - RÖLLIG, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften I-III (1964).

DRIVER, S. R. An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (Meridian edition, 1956).

EISSFELDT, O. Der Maschal im Alten Testament (1913).

_____ Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios, und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer (1932).

_____ Molk als Opferbegriff (1935).

_____ El im Ugaritischen Pantheon (Berlin, 1951).

_____ Einleitung in das Alten Testament (3rd ed., 1956/1964).

_____ The Old Testament: An Introduction (trans. of Einleitung[3] by P. R. Akroyd, Oxford, 1965).

Encyclopedia Miqra'ît (Heb.) I-IV (1950-1962).

ENGNELL, I. "'Knowledge' and 'life' in the creation story", Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East (VT Supplement III, 1960), pp. 103-120.

FALKENSTEIN, A. "Untersuchungen zur sumerischen Grammatik" Zeitschrift für Assyriologie N. F. 14 (1944), pp. 69-118.

FENSHAM, C. "Malediction and Benediction in ancient Near Eastern vassal-treaties and the O. T." ZAW 74 (1962), pp. 1-9.

_____ "Common trends in Curses... compared with maledictions of Amos and Isaiah", ZAW 75 (1963), pp. 155-176.

FITZMYER, J. A. "The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire I and II", JAOS 81 (1961), pp. 178-222.

FÖHRER, G. Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel (1952).

_____ "Prophetie und Magie", ZAW 78 (1966), pp. 25-47.

FÖHRER-GALLING. Ezechiel (HAT, 1955).

FRANKENA, R. "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy" (OTS 15, 1965), pp. 122-154.

FREEDMAN, D. N. "Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry", ZAW 72 (1960).

GASTER, T. H. Thespis (rev. ed., 1961).

GEHMAN. "The 'Burden' of the Prophets", JQR 31 (1940/1), pp. 107-121.

GERSTENBERGER, E. "The Woe-Oracles of the Prophets", JBL 81 (1962), pp. 249-263.

GEVIRTZ, S. "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law", VT 11 (1961), pp. 137-158.

_____ Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel (1963).

GINSBERG, H. L. Kitbē Ugarît (Heb.), (1929).

_____ "Judah and the Transjordan States from 734 to 582 B. C. E.", A. Marx Jubilee Volume, (1950), pp. 347-368.

GINZBERG, L. Legends of the Jews (1956).

GOETZE, A. Kleinasien (Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients III, 1, 1957).

GORDIS, R. "The Asseverative Kaph in Ugaritic and Hebrew", JAOS 63 (1943), pp. 176-178.

GORDON, C. H. Ugaritic Literature (1949).

_____ Ugaritic Manual (1955).

_____ "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil", Biblical Motifs; Origins and Transformations (Lown Studies and Texts, III, 1966), pp. 1-10.

GOTTWALD, N. K. Studies in the Book of Lamentations (1954).

_____ All the Kingdoms of the Earth (1964).

GRAY, G. B. The Book of Isaiah, I-XXXIX (ICC, 1912).

GRAY, J. The Legacy of Canaan (Vetus Testamentum Supplement, V, 1957).

GRÉLOT, R. "Isaïe XIV 12-15", RHR (1956), pp. 18-48.

GRESSMAN, H. Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie (Göttingen, 1905).

_____ Der Messias (Göttingen, 1929).

GRUPPE, O. "War Gen. 6:1-4 ursprünglich mit der Sintflut Verbunden", ZAW 9 (1889), pp. 135ff.

GUNKEL, H. Schöpfung und Chaos (1895).

_____ "Die israelitische Literatur", Kultur der Gegenwart (1906), pp. 51-102.

_____ Einleitung in die Psalmen (1928).

_____ "Propheten (II)", RGG (1930), cols. 1538-1554.

GUNNEWEG, A. H. J. Mündlich und Schriftliche Tradition der Vorexilischen Prophetenbücher (1959).

GÜTERBOCK, H. G. Kumarbi: Mythen von Churritischen Kronos (1946).

HALDAR, A. Associations of Cult Prophets (1944).

HALLER, M. "Edom im Urteil der Propheten", Marti Festschrift (BZAW 41), pp. 109-117.

(HARAN), M. DIMAN. "Śarîd arḳa'i b^{e}siprût ha-nebû'ah (Heb.)", BIES 13 (1946/7), pp. 7-15. (Reprinted in BIES Reader, vol. 2, pp. 250-288).

_____ "Mi-ba'ayôt ha-reqa' ha-historî šel 'nebû'at ha-goyyîm' še-besēfer Amos", BIES 30 (1966), pp. 56-69.

HARDEN, D. The Phoenicians (1962).

HARPER, W. R. Amos and Hosea (ICC, 1905).

HEIDEL, A. The Babylonian Genesis (2nd ed., 1951).

_____ The Epic of Gilgamesh and Old Testament Parallels (Phoenix Edition, 1963).

HERMANN, S. "Prophetie in Israel und Agypten: Recht und Grenze eines Vergleichs", Vetus Testamentum Supplement IX (1962), pp. 48-65.

HESSE, F. "Wurzelt die prophetische Gerichtsrede im israelitischen Kult", ZAW 65 (1953), pp. 45-53.

HILLERS, D. R. Treaty-Curses and the O. T. Prophets (Rome, 1964).

HOLLADAY, W. L. "The Background of Jeremiah's Self-Understanding", JBL 83 (1964), pp. 153ff.

_____ "Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations", JBL 85 (1966), pp. 17ff.

HOOKE, S. H. (ed.) Myth, Ritual, and Kingship (1958).

HUFFMON, H. B. Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts, (1965).

_____ "The Covenant Law-Suit in the Prophets", JBL 78 (1959), pp. 285-295.

HUMBERT, P. "Die Herausforderungsformel 'hinnenî êlékâ' " ZAW (1933), pp. 101-108.

HUMMEL, H. D. "Enclitic MEM in Early Northwest-Semitic, Especially Hebrew", JBL 76 (1957), pp. 85-107.

The Interpreter's Bible (1956).

Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (1962).

JAHNOW, HEDWIG-. Das hebraïsche Leichenlied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung (1923).

JASTROW, M. A Dictionary of the Targumim... (New York, 1950).

JEAN, C. F. - HOFTIJZER, J. Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest (Leiden, 1965).

JOHNSON, A. R. The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel (1944).

_____ "משל" Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East (Vetus Testamentum Supplement III (1960), pp. 162-169.

KAPELRUD, A. Joel Studies (1948).

KAUFMANN, Y. The Religion of Israel (trans. and abridged by M. Greenberg, 1960).

_____ Sēfer Šôpṭim (1962).

_____ Tôldôt ha-emûnah ha-yisre'ēlît (Heb.) (1963/4).

KAUTZSCH-COWLEY. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (2nd Eng. edition, 1960).

KITTEL-KAHLE. Biblica Hebraica (1951).

KNIERIM, R. Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im Alten Testament (1965).

KNUDTZON, J. A. Die El-Amarna Tafeln (1907-15).

KOEHLER, L. Deuterojesja Stilkritisch untersucht (1923).

_____ Kleine Lichter (1945).

KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER. Lexicon in Veteris Testamentū Libros (Leiden, 1953).

KRAELING, E. "The Historical Situation in Zech. 9:1-10", AJSL 41 (1924), pp. 24-33.

KRAUS, H-J. Psalmen I (Biblisches Kommentar, 1962).

_____ Gottesdienst in Israel (1962).

LANCZKOWSKI, G. Altägyptischer Prophetismus (1960).

LINDBLOM, J. Die literarische Gattung der Prophetischen Literatur (1924).

_____ "Wisdom in the O. T. Prophets", Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East (VT Supplement III, 1960), pp. 192-204.

LODS, A. Une Tablette inedite de Mari", Studies in O. T. Prophecy (1950), pp. 103-110.

LOEWENSTÂMM, S. E. "Re'idat ha-ṭeba' bi-š'at hôpa'at [YHWH] (Heb.)", in Ben Gurion Festschrift (1964), pp. 508-521.

_____ "The Seven-Day Unit in Ugaritic Epic Literature", IEJ 15 (1965), pp. 121-133.

MAAG, V. Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos (Leiden, 1951).

MALAMAT, A. "The Historical Setting of Two Biblical Prophecies on the Nations", IEJ 1, (1950/1), pp. 149-159.

_____ "Amos 1:5 in the light of the Tel-Barsip Inscriptions", BASOR 129 (1953), pp. 25-26.

_____ "Niṣanê nebu'ah be-te'ûdôt Mari", EI IV (1956/7), pp. 74-84.

_____ "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon" in The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah (1961) (A. Malamat, ed.), pp. 24-46.

MALFROY, J. "Sagesse et Loi dans le Deutéronome", VT 15 (1965), pp. 49-60.

MAY, H. G. "The King in the Garden of Eden", Israel's Prophetic Heritage (1962), pp. 166-177.

MAZAR, B. The Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre (Heb.) [Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, I no. 7 (1964)].

McCARTHY, D. J. Treaty and Covenant (1963).

McKENZIE, J. L. "Literary Characteristics of Gen. 2-3", Th S 15 (1954), pp. 541-572.

_____ "Mythological Allusions in Ez. 28:12-18", JBL 75 (1956), pp. 332ff.

MELAMED, E. Z. "Breakup of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device in Biblical Poetry", Scripta Hierosolymitana VIII, pp. 115-153 (rev. Heb. version in Kirjat Sēfer (1964), 188-219).

MENDENHALL, G. E. Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East (The Biblical Colloquium: 1955).

MORGENSTERN, J. "The Mythological Background of Ps. 82", HUCA 14 (1939), pp. 29-126.

_____ Amos Studies (1941).

MOWINCKEL, S. Psalmenstudien I-III (1921-3).

_____ "Zum Ursprung der Bileamsage", ZAW N. F. 7 (1930), pp. 233-271.

_____ He that Cometh (1956).

_____ "Psalms and Wisdom", Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East (VT Supplement III, 1960), pp. 205-224.

_____ The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I-II (trans. Ap-Thomas, 1962).

MUILENBERG, J. "The Literary Character of Is. 34", JBL 59 (1940), pp. 339-365.

_____ "The 'Office' of the Prophet in Ancient Israel", The Bible in Modern Scholarship (1965), pp. 74-97.

MUNCH, P. A. The Expression "bajjōm hāhū'" (1936).

MYERS, J. M. "Some Considerations Bearing on the Date of Joel", ZAW 74 (1962), pp. 177-195.

NORTH, F. "The Oracle against the Ammonites Jer. 49:1-6", JBL (1946), pp. 37-43.

NOTH, M. Uberlieferungeschichtliche Studien (1948).

_____ "Geschichte und Gotteswort im A. T.", Gesammelte Studien, pp. 230-247 (=BJRL 32 (1950), pp. 194ff).

_____ "Gott, König, Volk im Alten Testament", Gesammelte Studien, pp. 197ff.

_____ "Noah, Daniel, und Hiob in Ez. XIV", VT 1 (1950), pp. 251-60.

_____ History of Israel (trans. P. R. Akroyd, 1960).

NÖTSCHER, F. "Zum emphatischen Lamed", VT 3 (1953), pp. 372-380.

OPPENHEIM, A. L. "Mesopotamian Mythology II", Orientalia XVII (1948), pp. 17ff.

OR, A. "Mî ḥibber 'et ha-qînah be-Isa. 14 (Heb.)" Sēfer Biram (Publications of the Society of Biblical Research, Israel, vol. 2, 1956-57), pp. 84-86.

PATTON, J. H. Canaanite Parellels in the Book of Psalms (1944).

PAULYS-WISSOWA. Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertümswissenschaft.

PFEIFFER, R. Introduction to the Old Testament (2nd ed., 1952).

POPE, M. H. El in the Ugaritic Texts (VT Supplement II, 1955).

_____ Job (Anchor Bible, 1965).

PORTEOUS, N. W. "The Prophets and the Problem of Continuity", Israel's Prophetic Heritage (Muilenberg Festschrift, 1962), pp. 11-25.

PRIEST, J. "The Covenant of Brothers", JBL 84 (1965), pp. 400-406.

PRITCHARD, J. B. Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the O. T. (2nd ed., 1955).

QUELL, "Jesaja 14, 1-23", F. Baumgaertel Festschrift (1959), pp. 131-157.

VON RAD, G. "Die falschen Propheten", ZAW (1933), pp. 109ff.

_____ Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs (1938).

_____ Studies in Deuteronomy (SCM Press, 1953).

_____ Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel (Göttingen, 3rd ed., 1958).

_____ "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh", JSS IV (1959), pp. 97-108.

_____ Theologie des Alten Testaments II (Munich, 1962).

RAINEY, A. F. "The Kingdom of Ugarit", BA, pp. 102-125.

REVENTLOW, H. G. Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos (1962).

_____ Wächter über Israel: Ezekiel und seine Tradition (BZAW, 1962).

_____ Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia (1963).

ROTH, W. M. W. Numerical Sayings in the O. T. (1965), (VT Supplement XIII, 1965).

ROWLEY, H. H. "The Day of the Lord", Faith of Israel (1956).

_____ "Ritual and the Hebrew Prophets", Myth, Ritual and Kingship (1958), pp. 236-260.

RUDOLPH, W. Der Elohist (1938).

_____ Jeremia (HAT, 1958).

_____ "Jesaja XV-XVI", Hebrew and Semitic Studies (1963), pp. 130-143.

SANDERS, J. A. The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, IV, 1965).

SAUER, G. Die Sprüche Agurs (BWANT, 1963).

SCHMÖKEL, H. "Gotteswort in Mari und Israel" Th L Z 76 (1951), pp. 53ff.

SCHÖKEL, L. A. "Stylistische Analyse bei den Propheten" VT Supplement VII (1959), pp. 154-164.

SCHUNK, K-D. "Strukturlinien in der Entwicklung der Vorstellung vom 'Tag Jahwes'", VT XIV (1964), pp. 319-330.

SCHWALLY, F. "Die Reden des Buches Jeremia gegen die Heiden" in ZAW 8, pp. 177-216.

SCOTT, R. B. Y. "The Literary Structure of Isaiah's Oracles", Studies in Old Testament Prophecy (1950), pp. 175-186.

_____ Proverbs - Ecclesiastes (Anchor Bible, 1965).

SEELIGMANN, I. A. "Concerning the Problems of Prophecy in Israel, its History and Character (Heb.)", EI IV, pp. 125-132.

The Septuagint Version (Samuel Bagster and Sons).

SIMON, J. Geographical and Topographical Texts of the O. T. (1959).

SKEHAN, P. "A Fragment of the 'Song of Moses' from Qumran" BASOR 136 (1954), pp. 12-15.

SNAITH, N. H. "The Historical Books", Old Testament and Modern Study (1951), pp. 84-114.

VON SODEN, W. "Verkündung des Gotteswillens durch prophetisches Wort in den altbabylonischen Briefen aus Mari", Welt des Orients I, pp. 397ff.

_____ Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (1965).

SPEISER, E. A. Genesis (Anchor Bible, 1964).

TALMON, S. "The Yavneh Yam Letter in Historical Perspective", BASOR (1964), pp. 29-38.

_____ "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature", Biblical Motifs (Lown Studies and Texts III, A. Altmann, ed.), pp. 31-64.

TERRIEN, S. "Amos and Wisdom", Israel's Prophetic Heritage (1962), pp. 108-115.

The Holy Scriptures (Jewish Publication Society, 1965).

THOMPSON, R. C. The Epic of Gilgamesh (1930).

TUR-SINAI, N. H. Ha-laŝôn ve-ha-sēfer, I-II (Heb.) (2nd ed., 1955).

_____ Miqra' ki-pšûtô I (1962).

UNGNAD-MATOUSH, Akkadische Grammatik (1964).

DE VAUX, R. Ancient Israel (1961).

WANKE, G. " אור und הור ", ZAW 78 (1966), pp. 215-218.

WEBER, M. Ancient Judaism (trans. Gerth-Martindale, 1952).

WEINFELD, M. "The Dependence of Deuteronomy upon the Wisdom Literature (Heb.)", Yehezkel Kaufmann Jubilee Volume (1960).

WEISER, A. Die Prophetie des Amos (BZAW 53, 1929).

WEISS, M. "The Traces of a Biblical Metaphor (Heb.)", Tarbiz 34 (1965), pp. 107-129; 303-318.

WELLHAUSEN, J. Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel (Meridian, ed., 1957).

_____ Die Kleine Propheten (4th ed., 1963).

WESTERMANN, C. Grundformen Prophetischer Rede (1960).

WIDENGREN, G. The King and the Tree of Life (Uppsala, 1951).

_____ "Early Hebrew Myths and their Interpretation", Myth, Ritual and Kingship (1958), pp. 149-203.

WOLFF, "Die Begründung der prophetischen Heils - und UnHeils-spruche", ZAW (1934), pp. 1ff.

WRIGHT, G. E. "The Law Suit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32", Israel's Prophetic Heritage (Muilenberg Festschrift, 1962), pp. 26-67.

_____ "Cult and History", Interpretation 16 (1962), pp. 3-20.

_____ "The Nations in Hebrew Prophecy", Encounter 26 (1965), pp. 133-141.

_____ Shechem (1965).

WÜRTHWEIN, E. "Amos-Studien", ZAW 62 (1950), pp. 10-52.

YADIN, Y. "The Excavation of Masada 1962/64", IEJ 15 (1965), pp. 1-120.

YARON, K. "The Dirge over the King of Tyre", ASTI III, pp. 28-57.

ZIEGLER, J. Septuaginta: Isaias (Göttingen, 1939).

_____ Septuaginta: Duodecim prophetae (Göttingen, 1943).

_____ Septuaginta: Ezechiel (Göttingen, 1952).

ZIMMERLI, W. Erkenntnis Gottes (1954).

VAN ZYL, A. The Moabites (Leiden, 1960).

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES DISCUSSED*

GENESIS

6:1f	304f, 353, 355
22:17 (24:60)	137f
25:23	152

EXODUS

3:4f	384f
10:7	156
15:9 (14)	162

LEVITICUS

23:29-30	167

NUMBERS

13:33	306
21:27f	15f, 81f, 102f, 111, 115, 156, 162, 167, 181, 182f, 240
21:35	168
23:7 (18)	215
24:18	136f
:19	157, 165, 168
:23	181
32:21	137
36:8	130

*(The following list includes only such passages treated at some length in the text. It does not include all the O. T. passages cited.)

DEUTERONOMY

3:11	306
8:9 (30:18)	158
9:3	159
11:23	130
12:29 (19:1)	167
24:15	228
30:18	158, 168
32:8	114
:35	48
:41	248

JUDGES

1:29f	130
5:4-5	121
:27	182
:29-30	162
:31	158
9:15	87
:20	88
11:24	147

I SAMUEL

17:45f	229

II SAMUEL

1:9 (25, 27)	182
1:21	196
23:1f	250, 273

I KINGS

5:11	198
12:19	246
20:26f	379
22:2f	378f

II KINGS

3:4f	379
:7	246
8:12	271, 380
9:8	156
11:1	165
19:25-26	206f

ISAIAH

1:9	168
10:7f	294
13:1 (15:1, 17:1, 19:1, 23:1)	203f, 208f
:19-20 (61:1)	71
14:1f	215, 283-4, 288, 294f, 339f
:12f	148, 255, 263, 283, 288, 291, 299f
15:1-2	176
16:13	193, 227
19:2f	280f, 348
21:1 (11, 22:1)	224-5
22:14	264
23:1 (14)	174
:5	161

(continued)

ISAIAH (Continued)

34:1f	47f
:6f	71, 133, 280f, 348
37:24-5	294
46:2	108, 111, 125
47:10	292
54:3	165
57:13	130
61:2	48
63:4	48, 71
66:15	55

JEREMIAH

1:4f	382f
4:8	166, 192
9:9	216
10:14 (49:8)	50
17:27	92f
18:16	72
:17 (50:27, 31)	50
21:14	94f
22:18	192
23:33f	207f
25:12	264
:30	53f
:34	193
:36	174f
28:6	263
:8	382
29:30	227

(Continued)

JEREMIAH (Continued)

30:19 (31:14)	183
36:2	382
40:15	156
43:12	98
44:7	168
46:1-2 (47:1, 48:1, 49:1)	210f
:7-8	263, 292
:10 (21)	49f
:24	161
:27	91f
47:2	193
48:1	161, 174
:7 (16)	108f, 111, 262f
:8	154
:14	363
:26	253f
:46	102f, 154, 167
:47 (49:6)	112
49:1-2	99f, 131, 133, 137f
:3	108f, 111, 174
:10	165
:22	51
:36f	163, 281f
:39	112f, 154, 166, 177
50:11 (51:24)	257, 283
:15	248
:23	291
:31	50, 218

(Continued)

JEREMIAH (Continued)

50:32	94f, 119
:38	264
:39	71
51:6 (11)	49, 248
:30	99f
:54	155, 174

EZEKIEL

2:3	395
17:12	124
19:1	216
25:3f	121, 133, 145, 155, 157
26:2f	154, 218, 254
26-27	293
27:2-3	216, 263
28:1f	117, 262f, 288, 294f, 394f
:12f	218, 288, 311f
29:1f	112f, 263, 283, 285, 294f, 332f
30:2f	45f, 97f, 103f, 111, 154
31:1f	284, 294f, 320f, 326f
32:1f	196, 255, 294f, 329f, 333f
35:3	218
39:6	97f

HOSEA

3:4 (7:5, 8:10)	105, 111
8:1	247
8:14	92f

JOEL

1:10-11	155, 181, 193
2:10f	55
2:20	258
4:4	275
4:12 (19)	257, 283
4:16	53f
:18-19	52

AMOS

1:2f	10f, 53f, 73, 83f, 105, 111, 121, 131, 155, 240, 243f, 252f, 255, 271, 275, 278f, 355
2:1f	83f
3:9	89f
4:3	89f, 118
5:1-2	182, 228
7:12	230
9:11-12	51f, 72

OBADIAH

1f	46f
8	154
12	254
13	51, 250
15	248
17	133, 137f

MICAH

2:4	177, 215
5:9	155

NAHUM

1:1	203f, 226
1:14	54f
2:14 (=3:5)	218
3:7	193
3:10	107, 111
3:19	255

HABAKKUK

1:1	203f
2:6	177, 215, 258

ZEPHANIAH

2:4	52
:5	154
:8-9	132, 252f
:10	253
:15	262f, 292

ZECHARIAH

9:1 (12:1)	204f
:4	133
:5	154, 163
11:2	117
:3	175
:10	113f

MALACHI

1:1	204f

PSALMS

10:15	156
18:14 (29:3)	56
44:4	130
60:8f (=108:9f)	56f, 75
68:7	197
:9	121
82:7	304f
83:3f	159f
92:10	158
126:2-3	260
137:8	193
143:8	228

PROVERBS

8-9	357
27:10	250
30:1 (31:1)	226f

JOB

27:1 (=29:1)	215
37:3	74
42:10	126f

LAMENTATIONS

2:14	225
:15	120
4:11	95f

I CHRONICLES

15:22	226